

# Resurrecting Virginia Algonquian from the Dead: The Reconstituted and Historical Phonology of Powhatan

Frank T. Siebert, Jr.<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter of regret that the Algonquian languages indigenous to the Atlantic coast from New England southward to North Carolina were so inadequately recorded during the colonial period. This deficiency is especially true for the dialects once spoken in the region comprising the present states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Here the records are most fragmentary, and therefore an inventory of the isoglosses reflecting the dialectologic and grammatical features prevailing in this area will remain forever incomplete. On the other hand, Virginia Algonquian, commonly referred to as Powhatan, offers an opportunity to describe some of the characteristics of southeastern Algonquian. It is the purpose of this article to pursue such a line of inquiry and to sketch the relevant historical setting of Powhatan.

Shrouded in the romance of near-antiquity are the original inhabitants of Virginia and their language, both inextricably bound to the stirring narratives of early Jamestown, and to such legendary figures as Captain John Smith, Pocahontas, and Powhatan. The Virginia Algonquians had come into contact with Europeans half a century or more before the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in North America, heralded by the founding of

Jamestown in 1607. The New World had been divided with the approval of Pope Alexander VI between Spain and Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas in June 1494. In North America this agreement made the Cabot Strait the line of demarcation, and tacitly assigned to Spain the Atlantic coast from present Cape Breton Island southward to Florida. During the sixteenth century Spain played the major role on the American scene. Although Spanish penetrations into the southeastern section of present United States are well-known through the exploits of Ponce de León (1513), Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca (1526), Pánfilo de Narváez (1528), Hernando de Soto (1539-1541), Tristán de Luna (1559-1561), Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1565), and Juan Pardo (1566-1567), Spanish activities to the north of Cape Fear have received little attention. There were unquestionably a series of explorations and attempts at colonization by Spain during the sixteenth century on the north and middle Atlantic coast, but most of these are unknown or have remained obscure because of poor documentation, official secrecy, or the fact that such efforts were considered marginal to the primary Spanish movements in the Caribbean and elsewhere that held the promise of greater riches. At any rate, it seems probable that there were at least temporary Spanish posts on the eastern coast as far north as Pemaquid, Maine. The chief recorded undertakings on the upper coast were the voyage of Estéban Gómez northward along the eastern seaboard from Florida to Nova Scotia in the spring and early summer of 1525 in which he sailed up the Penobscot River as far as present Bangor; and the ill-fated expedition of Luís Vasquez de Ayllón in 1526 which established the unsuccessful colony of San Miguel de Guadalupe on the middle Atlantic coast. The location of San Miguel is uncertain, but varying sites have been proposed, the suggestions ranging from the mouth of the Cape Fear River north to the lower Delaware Bay. Possibly San Miguel was somewhere in the Chesapeake Bay region, later called by the Spanish Bahía de Santa Maria.

In 1561 there were at least two other Spanish expeditions along the east coast, one of which kidnapped a prominent Virginia chieftain who was taken to the West Indies, Mexico, and Spain, and received the baptismal name of Don Luis de Velasco. In 1566 the governor of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, made plans to establish a colony on the Chesapeake with the aid of

Don Luis, but the expedition that was sent out returned for unknown reasons. At Havana early in 1570 Don Luis persuaded the Jesuit Father Juan Baptista Segura to establish a mission on Chesapeake Bay. The project was encouraged by Menéndez at St. Augustine, and in 1570 Father Segura, a group of Jesuit friars, and Don Luis were transported to Virginia by Captain Vincente González. Father Segura founded the mission of Axacán or Ajacán somewhere along the estuary of the James River, probably at or near the present site of Jamestown. Soon after the departure of the caravel, Don Luis deserted the friars. Five months later the Indians, led by Don Luis, killed all the Spanish except for taking captive a boy, who was the son of one of the soldiers stationed at Santa Elena on the present South Carolina coast. During a return visit in 1571 González learned of the destruction of the mission, and in 1572 under the orders of Menéndez, he led a punitive expedition which recovered the boy, killed eight or nine Indians, carried off a few others as slaves, and failed to recapture Don Luis.<sup>2</sup>

Previous writers have overlooked evidence that identifies Don Luis de Velasco. It can be demonstrated that he was the father of Powhatan by the following quotation from Hamor<sup>3</sup> in which he described a treaty between the English and the natives of Virginia: "Thirdly, they should at all times be ready and willing to furnish vs with three or foure hundred bowmen to aide vs against the Spaniards, whose name is odious amongst them, for Powhatans father was driuen by them from the west-Indies into those parts . . . ."

It seems possible that the nine years of observation that Don Luis spent in the Spanish Empire may have provided the cultural source for the genesis of the conquest state that Don Luis and his son established among the Virginia Algonquians in the late sixteenth century. If not, his experience probably contributed to such a development. At the time of the death of Don Luis, presumably about 1583-1585, he ruled over a confederacy of six tribes. His son, Wahunsonacock, called by the English Powhatan from his principal seat of residence, succeeded to the chieftainship and expanded his inherited dominion by conquest to control some hundred or more villages. This fact is of linguistic significance, since the extant records of Virginia Algonquian made by Captain John Smith and William Strachey show dialectic divergence sufficient to indicate that the speech of the people of Powhatan's dominion

who visited Jamestown to trade was not uniform.

After the destruction of Father Segura's mission in February 1571, the Spanish presence on the middle and north Atlantic coast was sustained for about two decades by frequent visits and probably by some temporary posts. As late as 1588 Captain González sailed up the Chesapeake Bay at least as far as the Potomac River. By this time the intrusion of the English on the Atlantic coast had started. In the summer of 1585 Sir Bernard Drake and George Raymond began their seizure and dispersal of the Spanish fishing fleet in north Atlantic waters from Newfoundland to the Azores, and in 1586 Sir Francis Drake unsuccessfully assaulted St. Augustine. Following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 Spain abandoned control of the middle and north coast to England and retired to the south of Cape Fear, although for decades many Spanish and Basque fishing vessels in times of peace continued to frequent the northern coast from Cape Cod to Newfoundland. It is incorrect to believe that the Spanish yielded the whole Atlantic coast north of St. Augustine following Francis Drake's attack of 1586, as has been stated by some writers. Control of the coast south of Cape Fear remained in Spanish hands until the time of English settlement in South Carolina, at Albemarle Point in 1670 and Charleston in 1680. In 1663 when Captain William Hilton<sup>4</sup> sailed along the southern coast as far north as Cape Fear he found the Spanish still in possession of Santa Elena and Edisto and met some Indians (Yamasee) speaking Spanish.

The Algonquian-Spanish contact in Virginia has some linguistic interest. There is evidence that ephemeral loans from Virginia Algonquian may have entered Caribbean or Floridian Spanish during the late sixteenth century. The early Spanish dictionaries of Stevens<sup>5</sup> and Pineda<sup>6</sup> give pemmenáu as "a sort of Rush in Virginia, so fine that the Indians spin and make good Thread of it." This seems to refer to the hemp dogbane plant (Apocynum cannabinum L. and variants) and is the Powhatan term for the plant or its fiber. Smith speaks of "a kind of grasse they call Pemmenaw; of these they make a thred" used for sewing apparel and making nets and lines for fishing. The correct gloss is probably /pi.mena.w/ 'hemp dogbane fiber or plant'. Strachey gives only the related /pi.menahko.n/ 'rope' (see the following lexicon).

Another result of the Spanish presence in Virginia was the accidental or

deliberate introduction of two varieties of a poisonous weed from tropical America, the thorn-apple (Datura stramonium L. and D. innoxia Miller). The thorn-apple first appeared along the James River, perhaps at the site of Father Segura's mission, and from there spread throughout much of temperate eastern North America. At any rate, from the place of its first naturalization it was known to the early English settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas during the seventeenth century as the Jamestown-weed, later shortened to Jimsonweed. Because of the superficial similarity of the deadly thorn-apple to the harmless native balsam-apple and edible prickly pear (see PEAR in the lexicon), some Indians probably were poisoned. This may have been a minor factor among more certain and greater concerns that contributed to the extreme aversion felt by the Virginia Algonquians to the Spaniards.

Early contacts of the Virginia natives with the English call for a pertinent review. A few of Powhatan's people probably had their first contact with the English when explorations were undertaken from the unsuccessful Roanoke Island colony of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Richard Grenville in the period 1585-1587. For example, Ralph Lane visited the village of Chawanoac on the lower Meherrin River in March 1586, and about the same time may have reached the village of Nansemond or elsewhere on the lower Chesapeake Bay to the west of Cape Henry. The next English contact was the visit of Bartholomew Gilbert to Virginia in early 1603, but the natives were so enraged against all Europeans that he met his death at their hands on July 29, 1603.

With the settlement of Jamestown in May 1607 the first permanent English settlement in North America came into being, and following this there ensued an eventful era from 1607 to the death of Powhatan in 1618 which may be called the epochal period of early Virginia history. There were hardships, dissensions, and near-starvation during the early years until Captain John Smith returned to England in late 1609. Despite some initial altercations and displays of hostility, and the abduction of Pocahontas to Jamestown by Captain Samuel Argall in 1612, no incident between the Indians and English caused any general uprising. In April 1613 Pocahontas was married to an Englishman, John Rolfe, and thereafter relations took a peaceful turn. In 1613 the Powhatan confederacy entered into an alliance with the English against the Spaniards and other hostile tribes which has been described by

Hamor. Following the death of Pocahontas from smallpox in England in March 1617 and the death of Wahunsonacock (Powhatan) in 1618, relations again became strained. Opechancanough, the youngest half-brother of Powhatan, who had always been hostile toward the whites, gradually assumed the chieftainship over Opitchapan, an older half-brother and the rightful successor. On March 22, 1622, Opechancanough led a general surprise attack upon all the English settlers throughout Virginia. A bloody war of mutual extermination followed for fourteen years until peace was established in 1636 by the exhaustion of both sides. Opechancanough renewed the war on April 18, 1644, by a second attack, but he was later captured, taken to Jamestown, and shot by a guard. A peace was negotiated, and most of the Virginia Algonquians were assigned to several reservations. So far as is known, no considerable number migrated to the west. Many of them continued to speak their language until about the last decade of the eighteenth century but no one seems to have bothered to record it. From the beginning of the reservation period the Indians declined and this process was hastened by the rapid spread of the plantation-slavery system. An English visitor to Virginia in the period 1650-1655, Gatford,<sup>7</sup> was especially critical of the tobacco planters and accused the Virginians of robbing the Indians, of land frauds, and of murdering the Indians and their white neighbors in Maryland.

The natives of Virginia were the first Algonquians to have a prolonged intimate contact with speakers of English and for this reason Powhatan is the source of more loans into English than any other single Algonquian language. These loanwords include the English terms: chinquapin, chum, hominy, matchcoat, moccasin, muskrat (a loanblend), opossum, persimmon, pone (and corn pone as a loanblend), puccoon, raccoon, terrapin, tomahawk, tuckahoe, and wicopy (*Dirca palustris* L.). All or most of them entered English during the first two decades of contact and probably before the outbreak of hostilities in 1622. Other Algonquian loans in English are mostly from various New England and northeastern languages and include: caribou (from Micmac), moose, sachem (from Narragansett), sagamore (from Abenaki), skunk, wampum, and wigwam (from Abenaki). Some others are from various central Algonquian languages, all of them of a much later date: pecan,

pemmican (from Cree), totem (from Ojibwa), and wapiti (from Shawnee). No loanwords from English into Powhatan have been recorded, but there probably were some.

#### SOURCES FOR POWHATAN

The first source for Virginia Algonquian is a brief vocabulary collected by Captain John Smith<sup>8</sup> in the period 1607-1609 and published in 1612 and again in 1624. He does not tell us what dialect it is or where he secured it, and the chief usefulness is to supplement Strachey's materials.

The only other source for Powhatan is the vocabulary collected by William Strachey, the first secretary of the Virginia colony. Little is known of Strachey's life or education except that he was a native of London and that he was still alive in 1618 when he tried to interest Francis Bacon in the publication of his manuscripts on Virginia. He sailed on May 15, 1609 for Virginia, but was shipwrecked on the Bermudas by a storm in July 1609 and did not arrive at Jamestown until May 23, 1610. As secretary of the colony he met Indians from different villages who came to Jamestown to trade. He sailed from Jamestown for England in October 1611, having spent about seventeen months in Virginia. In England during the years 1612 and 1613 Strachey composed his "The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia" to which he appended a vocabulary of the Virginia Indian language, all probably rewritten from rough notes made in America. This has remained in the Bodleian Library at Oxford as Ashmole Ms. 1754. In 1618 Strachey made a second copy which is inscribed to Francis Bacon in the hope of securing his aid for projected publication. No interest was forthcoming and later this second copy was deposited in the British Museum as Sloane Ms. 1622. It differs in some particulars from the earlier copy in the Bodleian. In 1849 the Hakluyt Society published the British Museum copy which was edited by Richard Henry Major.<sup>9</sup> In general it is a creditable performance. Not until 1955 was the linguistic material from the earlier Bodleian copy published by John P. Harrington<sup>10</sup> which is fortunately accompanied by facsimile reproductions of the sixteen original sheets of vocabulary. The chief value of Harrington's edition lies in these reproductions of Strachey's earliest extant version of the Powhatan recordings. I have used Harrington's reproductions but have disregarded his

interpretations of Strachey's handwriting. References to the Bodleian manuscript sheets in Harrington's edition are made with such symbols as (H6) for sheet six.

#### THE CHARACTER OF STRACHEY'S VOCABULARY

Strachey's Powhatan material collected in the years 1610 and 1611 is the earliest recording in quantity (that has survived) of any Algonquian language and is to be viewed as a fruit of the charismatic and epochal period of early Virginia history. Among Strachey's virtues were the fact that he was generous and diversified in his linguistic sampling, and that he often rendered the same gloss two or more times in varying recordings so that it is possible to form a reasonable opinion of the probable pronunciation. In comparison with most of his contemporaries, his "ear" for an exotic language appears to have been of a superior order, but in common with other English writers of his period he had little conception of consistency in sound representation or of uniform orthography.

On the opposite side of the ledger, there are two major difficulties with Strachey's recordings which have created nearly all the problems in using his material. These are his execrable and multifarious script and his many mistranslations which range from minor deviations to unequivocal howlers. Both are understandable but troublesome. The errors in rendered meaning are misleading and can be attributed to a communication barrier since the Powhatan speakers had little or no knowledge of English and misunderstandings were inevitable. For example, Strachey must have indicated by signs to one of his informants that he was hungry, to which the Indian replied /ketassames/ 'I will give you food', and Strachey thought he was calling him "a beggar" and recorded Cuttassamais "a Begger" (see sheet H3). A gust of wind stirred up some dust, and blew a speck in the eye of Strachey's Indian associate who commented /nepensen/ 'I have something (dust, a foreign body, a mote) in my eye ', but Strachey misunderstood him and wrote down Nepensun "Dust" (see sheet H5). There are numerous examples of this type of error throughout.

Most exasperating of all is Strachey's cramped handwriting which sometimes defies certain interpretation and which was considerably below the



average in legibility when compared to that of his contemporaries. Since the two extant copies of Strachey's vocabulary were written after a lapse of time and far removed from Virginia and Indian speakers, some of the variations in spelling lead one to believe that Strachey himself was not certain of some features of his own handwriting in his original notes. His "small" letters frequently seem to have from two to four variants that are used haphazardly. Some of the "small" letters subject to confusion or in which the orthographic contrasts are sometimes difficult or even impossible to distinguish are listed below:

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| u : n | m : nn |
| u : a | t : r  |
| o : e | s : t  |
| c : e | s : r  |
| m : n | s : h  |
| k : h | t : h  |

Some of the difficulties arise from the uncertainties inherent in fine writing with a quill point. The contrasts of "small" o : e and t : r in some of their variants are especially subject to misinterpretation so that reliability can be approximated only by a sensitive comparison of all recordings and a correlative cryptanalysis. Many examples of e which are indistinctly or closely looped at the top have the appearance of an o. Similarly a variety of t is readily confused with a type of r, although in general, but by no means serving as an invariable criterion, the r has a stroke at the base extending to the right, which is often lacking in the t. The inconsistencies can be attributed to careless copying, so that correlation alone provides sound solutions. For example, Strachey recorded Oteingeis "feet of a hawke" (see sheet H6) and Meteengass "a shooting glove" (sheet H13), in both of which the t conforms more closely to one of the usual patterns of an r. However, the more frequent listings of this morpheme with a distinct t (see the lexicon under HAND and MITTEN) confirms that they are to be taken as /otenči.s/ 'his hands' and /metenče.ss/ 'someone's glove, mitten'. Two distinct types of "small" written t appear in the same word in Matowtam "to Burne as if a sparke light on any (thing)" (sheet H3) and Ahtut "It stinketh" (sheet H8), for /mato.tam/ (see KINDLE) and /atet/ (see ROTTEN). Convincing

proof that /t/, from PA /\*θ/, and /r/ from PA /\*l/, are distinct phonemes in Powhatan and are not distinguished by any unfounded or dubious interpretations of the handwriting is established by a comparison of their word initial occurrences where Strachey writes capital letters clearly and consistently. For example, word initial /t- / (Powhatan root /ta·t- / from PA /\*θa·θ- /) is found in the lexicon under CRACK, and instances of unequivocal initial /r- / occur in MEAL (Powhatan root /ro·hk- / from PA /\*lo·xk- / 'soft') and in SAND (Powhatan /re·kaw/ from PA /\*le·kawi/ 'sand').

#### RECONSTITUTED PHONOLOGY OF POWHATAN

The purpose of reconstituted phonology is to determine by empirical methods which of several alternative phonological interpretations is valid in projecting the surface phonological entities or phonemes of an impressionistically recorded but defunct linguistic system. This procedure is justified only when pertinent direct observation and analysis are inaccessible. Despite the difficulties presented by Strachey's script and the vagaries of his orthography, there are some consistencies and prevailing regularities of representation that can be detected in his recordings. The trends of these consistencies are utilized in conjunction with comparative data from other Algonquian languages and the painstaking sleuthing of a trial-and-elimination method to evolve a working hypothesis, which when tested and found reasonable, leads to a determination of the reconstituted phonology of this poorly recorded dead language.

Strachey's chief orthographic representations of vowels in declining order of frequency from 1 to 6 are tabulated below. Solitary, rare, and aberrant notations are not listed. Representations 1 and 2 are the most frequent, 3 and 4 less common, and 5 and 6 uncommon.

|       | 1 | 2       | 3     | 4  | 5       | 6       |
|-------|---|---------|-------|----|---------|---------|
| /i/   | i | -       | e     | -  | -       | ei      |
| /i· / | e | ei (ey) | i     | ÿ  | ie      | ea      |
| /e/   | e | u       | i     | ei | a       | ai (ay) |
| /e· / | a | -       | e     | ai | ao (au) | aa      |
| /o/   | o | -       | u (v) | -  | -       | ou      |

|      | 1 | 2           | 3  | 4          | 5  | 6          |
|------|---|-------------|----|------------|----|------------|
| /o·/ | o | ou (ow, au) | -  | ū (uu, u)  | oa | oo         |
| /a/  | a | -           | au | u (v)      | -  | o (ou, uw) |
| /a·/ | a | aw (av, au) | o  | aa (ā, ah) | -  | oo (ou)    |

Therefore the most cogent hypothesis projects the following syllabic phonemes for Powhatan, with a contrast of long and short vowels throughout:

| Front         | Back |
|---------------|------|
| i· i (strong) | o o· |
| e· e (weak)   | a a· |

The nonsyllabic phonemes are:

| OBSTRUENTS | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal | Laryngeal |
|------------|--------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Plosive    | p      | t        | k       |           |
| Affricate  |        | č        |         |           |
| Spirant    |        | s        |         | h         |
| SONORANTS  |        |          |         |           |
| Tap        |        | r        |         |           |
| Nasal      | m      | n        |         |           |
| Glide      | w      |          | y       |           |

The spirant /s/ is a voiceless lenis sibilant, but after a front vowel seems to be in free variation phonetically with the corresponding shibilant. Geminated /ss/ occurs only after vowels and is a voiceless fortis sibilant which in intervocalic position is ambisyllabic. Other geminated fortis consonants do not appear to occur in Powhatan except secondarily as a result of syncope.

#### DIALECTS OF VIRGINIA ALGONQUIAN

No evidence of any grammatical differences in Strachey's materials has come to my attention, but there is convincing proof of minor phonological disparity and considerable lexical diversity. These findings indicate that the speech of the Powhatan confederacy was not homogeneous and that at least two and probably more dialects were recorded. Since the original authors (Smith and Strachey) made no mention of such differences we have no

way of assigning any given feature to any particular dialect and therefore can note only the variations as contrasts without even being able to sort them properly. Presumably the Indians who most often frequented Jamestown were from Paspahugh, the nearest village, situated somewhat to the west on the north side of the James River. It is reasonable to assume that the major dialect represented in the sources was Chickahominy, and the other Pamunkey, but even this is doubtful without specific information. Some of the lexical contrasts are listed below, but my proposed dialectic assortment is not guaranteed. For fuller details on each gloss consult the lexicon.

|                | Dialect A       | Dialect B      |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 'sun'          | /ki.so.ss/      | /nepass/       |
| 'roe'          | /wa.hk/         | /osi.ka.n/     |
| 'copper'       | /matassen/      | /osa.wa.ss/    |
| 'he is asleep' | /nepe.w/        | /kawi.w/       |
| '(his) thigh'  | /opo.m/         | /wi.kkway/     |
| 'arrow'        | /ato.ns/        | /askwiwa.n/    |
| 'muskrat'      | /ossaskwe.ss/   | /mossaskwe.ss/ |
| 'raccoon'      | /a.re.hkan/ (?) | /e.sepan/      |

Among phonological variations which appear to be of dialectic origin the following merit mention. If Strachey's recordings can be relied upon, in most Powhatan dialects /o-/ is the reflex of Proto-Algonquian initial /\*we-/, and /a.-/ is the reflex of initial /\*wa.-/ before a nonfinal labial consonant. However, in Strachey's material there appear to be a few exceptions to both changes which may represent a different dialect, for example, in such glosses as /weski.k/ 'his (fish's) gill', /wesekwan/ 'his tail', and /wa.passak/ 'white heron'.

#### ALGONQUIAN COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

There have been a number of misunderstandings regarding the perspective of Algonquian comparative studies.<sup>11</sup> The major features of the phonological system of what later became known as Proto-Algonquian (PA) were reconstructed by Leonard Bloomfield<sup>12</sup> in 1925 by a brilliant application of the comparative method on the basis of four languages, namely Fox, Cree,

Menomini, and Ojibwa. At that time only two of these languages, Cree and Menomini, were personally familiar to Bloomfield, and he supplemented his own knowledge of Cree with some data drawn from Lacombe.<sup>13</sup> For Fox he used the published materials of William Jones and Truman Michelson, relying heavily upon Jones' texts.<sup>14</sup> Bloomfield never did hear Fox in the field and his extensive knowledge of that language was derived entirely from his complete and meticulous analysis of Jones' Fox texts, supplemented by a similar study of some of Michelson's publications, especially his Owl Sacred Pack.<sup>15</sup> For Ojibwa he used the work of William Jones,<sup>16</sup> and the missionary fathers Baraga<sup>17</sup> and Cuog.<sup>18</sup> Since at that time the other languages of the stock were considered by Bloomfield to be inadequately recorded, he gave the reconstructed forms based on these four languages the name Primitive Central Algonquian (PCA) as a cover-term. He did not use the term Proto-Central Algonquian or define such a group as a specific genetic entity with features held in common as opposed to other Algonquian languages, and said "the exact grouping is doubtful". However, he did employ the expression "pre-Central Algonquian" in passing to project a theoretical earlier stage of general Algonquian.<sup>19</sup> It was Michelson who gave the first impetus to the Proto-Algonquian thesis when in several papers he demonstrated that Bloomfield's reconstructions largely satisfied the requirements of other Algonquian languages and especially of the Plains languages, Arapaho and Cheyenne. He used the term from 1926 on, but made his major summary in 1935.<sup>20</sup> Bloomfield himself came to use the term Proto-Algonquian in his papers published in 1939 and 1941.<sup>21</sup> In the period from 1937 to 1941 Bloomfield went on to make a detailed investigation of Ojibwa. Based on his own work on Ojibwa, Michelson's comparative studies, his examination of the materials of Voegelin on Shawnee and Delaware, and this writer's on Penobscot and Munsee at the 1939 Linguistic Institute at Ann Arbor, and the demonstration that the Eastern Algonquian languages are relevant for determining some original consonant clusters,<sup>22</sup> Bloomfield in 1946 made his final version<sup>23</sup> of his reconstruction of what he then called Proto-Algonquian. In his revision Bloomfield set up postconsonantal /\*-wi/ and /\*-yi/, eliminated the pseudo-cluster /\*θs/, adopted /\*θk/ as a valid cluster, and recognized the status of initial /\*we-/ which was projected from his perusal

of the Eastern Algonquian materials. A model of condensation and clarity, it became the standard reference on Algonquian.

Today Bloomfield's final version seems to require a few minor revisions and additions.<sup>24</sup> His PA cluster */\*št/*, supported only by Cree and Ojibwa and found only in one example */\*weštekwa.ni/* 'his head', is isolated and appears to be of tenuous validity. Some other consonant clusters should be recognized in addition to */\*θk/*. For example, */\*θp/*, which Bloomfield did not describe, had seemed probable ever since */\*θk/* was described, but at that time only one example was known to me, namely */\*naθpyi/* 'with, together', as shown by Cree (eastern dialect) */aspiy/*, Massachussee *nashpe* */naspi/*, Delaware */naxpi/*, and Penobscot */nspi/* (morphophonemically *|nəspi|*) 'at the same time, together'. There are a few additional examples of */\*θp/*, such as in the PA root */\*weθpa.-/* 'rouse, wake from slumber', attested by Cree */waspa.-/*, Ojibwa */oppa.-/* with conjunct */we.ppa.-/*, and Penobscot *|wəspa-|* with conjunct */wespa-/*.

Bloomfield's treatment (1946) of interconsonantal sequences of glide plus vowel (or nonsyllabic vowel plus syllabic vowel) also calls for minor revision and two additions. He described the interconsonantal sequences */\*ya, \*ya., \*yi, \*yi., \*wi, \*wi., \*we., and \*ye./*, but made no mention of the interconsonantal sequences */\*we/* and */\*ye/*, both of which can be identified by reflexes in Eastern Algonquian. Failure to recognize these two sequences has caused some problems in reconstruction and both are of frequent occurrence.

The PA sequence */\*we/* is common and is found in PA */\*eškwete.wi/* 'fire' (Bloomfield's */\*eškote.wi/*), F */aškote.wi/*, C */iskote.w/*, M */eskote.w/*, O */iškote./*, P */sk<sup>w</sup>ête/* (*|askwəte|*), and in PA */\*no.hkwema/* 'my grandmother' (Bloomfield's */\*no.hkomehsa/* dimin.), F */no.hkomesa/*, C */no.hkom/*, M */no.hkoməh/*, O */no.kkomiss/*, P */nðhkəməss/* (before a labial consonant the P reflex of interconsonantal */\*we/* is */ə/*), mD */nó.həm/*. Cree and Delaware use the nondiminutive form.

PA */\*ye/* is found in many examples also, among them: PA */\*a.čyemwiwa/* 'he narrates, tells anecdotes or news' (Bloomfield's */\*a.čimowa/*), F */a.čimowa/*, C */a.čimow/*, M */a.čemow/* (M */a.čemwan/* 'narrative'), O */a.čimo/*, S */a.čimo/*, and P */əčəmo/*; PA */\*no.hšyehsa/* 'my grandchild'

(i. e., 'my little child', PA /\*-o.hšy-/ 'child', plus diminutive PA /\*-ehs-/), (Bloomfield's /\*no.hšihsema/), F /no.šise ma/, C /no.sisim/, M /no.hsehsēh/, D (all dialects) /nó.xwi.s/, Mh /nó.xi.s/, P /nòhsəss/ 'my kinsman' (usually 'my child of my niece or nephew', with semantic change; dependent stem |-ohsəhs|); PA /\*nemyehsa/ 'my older sister' (Bloomfield's /\*nemihsa/), F /nemise.ha/, C /nimis/, M /neme.h/, pl. /neme.hsak/, O /nimisse.n?/, S /nimi?θa/, D (all dialects) /nə mí.s/, and P /nəməssis/ (dependent stem |-məhs|).

#### PROTO-EASTERN ALGONQUIAN

Eastern Algonquian forms no trenchant subdivision within general Algonquian as a whole, but does exhibit a few morphological and phonological innovations and some distinctive lexical features which apparently are not found elsewhere. The lexical specialities are probably preserved archaisms for the most part, and to a less degree neologisms. They are labeled Proto-Eastern Algonquian (PEA) but this does not imply any profound genetic divarication. Nevertheless, some characteristics of the eastern languages are sufficiently distinctive that one can speak of Proto-Eastern Algonquian as a latent subdivision of general Algonquian. Goddard in his brilliant paper on the Algonquian independent indicative<sup>25</sup> has pointed out that the chief morphological innovation of Proto-Eastern Algonquian was a thorough rebuilding of the transitive inanimate verb (TI) with its double paradigm of absolute and objective forms so that the original PA absolute third person singular ending /\*-amwa/ was generalized in PEA throughout the entire TI paradigm, first in the PEA absolute paradigm and then analogically in the PEA objective paradigm, to make a functionally new PEA TI theme-sign /\*-am/. The old PA TI objective singular ending /\*-en-/, found also in the inanimate subject verb forms, was then taken to be a suffix marking the objective TI paradigm, so that in PEA /\*-en/ acquired a new function as a formal element signaling the PEA TI objective.

The phonological system of Proto-Eastern Algonquian was not radically different from that of Proto-Algonquian, one of the chief sound changes being the lenition of preglottalized consonant clusters to become preaspirated clusters. These changes can be schematized as follows:

| PA    |   | PEA   |  | PA    |   | PEA   |
|-------|---|-------|--|-------|---|-------|
| /*ʔl/ | > | /*hl/ |  | /*ʔθ/ | > | /*hθ/ |
| /*ʔš/ | > | /*hš/ |  | /*ʔs/ | > | /*hs/ |
| /*ʔt/ | > | /*ht/ |  | /*ʔč/ | > | /*hč/ |

The vowel phoneme inventory of PEA was identical with that of PA, but by the earliest period of PEA two vocalic sound changes had already occurred. PA word-initial /\*e-/ became PEA /\*a-/, and PA final /\*-wa/ was lost following a nonsyllabic other than /\*k/. Otherwise the final short vowels of PA, /\*-i, \*-e, \*-a/, were retained in early PEA.

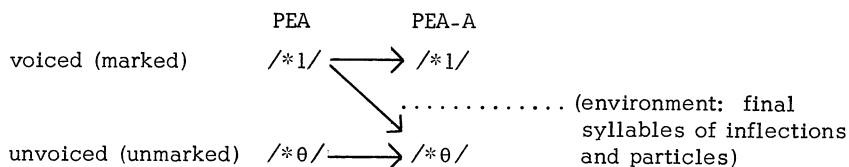
The PA prenasalized consonant clusters /\*mp, \*nt, \*nč, \*nk, \*nl, \*nθ, \*nš, \*ns/ were retained in the earliest period of PEA.

The original contrast of PA /\*l/ and /\*θ/ was preserved in the earliest stage of PEA, /\*l/ being a voiced lateral, probably apico-alveolar, and /\*θ/ a voiceless lateral or lateral fricative, probably apico-alveolar also.<sup>26</sup> The two phonemes in contrast shared all phonological features except the feature of voice, differing only by the presence or absence of one feature and establishing the unidimensional opposition of voiced/unvoiced. Phoneme /\*θ/ was then the unmarked member of the pair, and /\*l/ the marked member with the feature of voice. The two were identical in their phonological behavior except that /\*θ/ was replaced in alternation by /\*š/ before /\*i, \*i., \*y/ in PEA, as Bloomfield<sup>27</sup> has shown to have occurred in PA.

Dialectic divergence within the whole PEA group evidently started early and followed different directions within a large area and over a long period of time. One large body of PEA speakers who later occupied a marginal geographical distribution in two large unconnected enclaves on the periphery of the Atlantic coast can, for this reason, be called the archaic coastal group of Proto-Eastern Algonquians and their speech which has an unique feature not found elsewhere in Algonquian can be labeled tentatively as PEA-A. The distinguishing trait of the PEA-A group was a morphologically conditioned partial coalescence or merger of /\*l/ and /\*θ/, that is, phonemic change without loss of contrast. In word-final syllables of inflectional suffixes and particles /\*l/ as the marked member of a pair of phonemes was neutralized, and unmarked /\*θ/ appeared in the position of neutralization. In all other environments the contrast of /\*l/ and /\*θ/ remained unchanged and the



opposition of voice and absence of voice persisted. This partial phonemic coalescence can be schematized as follows:



Syllable final /ʔ/ in inflections and particles was then treated as original /t/ elsewhere, and was replaced in alternation by /š/ before /i, i., \*y/. Accordingly the suffix of the plural of the inanimate noun PA /-ali/ > PEA /-ali/ > PEA-A /-aši/, and with loss of short final vowels became /-aš/, or /-as/ in languages where /š/ and /s/ fell together. The replacement of /ʔ/ by /š/ by alternation before short final /-i/ was soon analogically extended in PEA-A so as to occur in all inflections and particles in word-final syllables before all short final vowels such as /-e/ and /-a/. In fact, by the operation of analogy the phonemic change of partial coalescence lost its phonological character and became a morphologically conditioned sound change in which inflectional syllable final /ʔ/ became /š/ regardless of whether its origin was PEA /ʔ/ or /t/. Thus the inflection of the transitive animate verb (TA) for first person singular-second person singular or 'I...thee' PA /ke—eʔe/ > PEA /ke—eʔe/ > PEA-A /ke—eše/, and with later loss of short final vowels became Powhatan /ke—es/ and SNE /kə—əs/.

An example involving a particle is PEA /aʔa/ 'or', Penobscot /âla/, but giving PEA-A /aša/, with Massachussee /asa/ 'or' (Eliot and Mayhew *asuh*, John 2:6), and Nipmuck-Pocumtuck /asa/ 'or' (Mathevet's Loup *asse*, p. 13).

The PEA-A or archaic coastal group of Proto-Eastern Algonquian is found in two discontinuous enclaves which share this special feature which seems unlikely to be due to a parallel development. The northern peripheral enclave comprises all the closely related languages of southern New England and Long Island (exclusive of Mahican) and may be called the SNE group of Eastern Algonquian. A group in the south embraces the Powhatan confederacy. The exact limits of the latter cannot be determined because of meager data.

At a later date PA and PEA /ʔ/ disappeared in all Eastern Algonquian

languages by one of three types of complete phonemic coalescence with other phonemes, often called "falling together". In many eastern languages, including Malecite-Passamaquoddy, Eastern and Western Abenaki, and all Delaware dialects, /\*θ/ completely merged with /\*l/ to give /l/, and for the most part the original alternation of /\*θ/ to /\*š/ was analogically restored almost without exception as /l/. However, a small residue of /\*š/ as an alternation remnant of /\*θ/ persisted in some languages. In Nipmuck-Pocumtuck as a member of the SNE and PEA-A groups /s/ remained in syllable final inflections and particles from former /\*θ/ although it was an "l" dialect. In Penobscot a residue of the old alternation remained in a few forms, such as P /àso/ 'he fares so' (AI), but the II form is /àle/ 'it happens so', with the II conjunct /éšiwik/ and the TI conjunct passive or indefinite actor form /éšimək/. The PA root /\*entaθ-/ 'there, in that place or time', with the Penobscot reflex /tal-/ and changed conjunct /etal-/, however has the derivative form PA /\*netentašima.wa/ 'I speak or talk about him', Cree /nithtasima.w/, Ojibwa /nitašima./, and Penobscot /nətásima/ in which the ancient alternation is preserved. The Penobscot changed conjunct is /etásimat/ 'when he spoke about him', reflecting PA /\*e.ntašima.či/.

In some eastern languages (Mohegan-Pequot-Niantic-Montauk) there was a complete loss of PA and PEA /\*l/ and /\*θ/ which merged with /\*y/ to give /y/, and in others (Massachussee-Nauset-Wampanoag) PA and PEA /\*l/, /\*θ/ and /\*n/ coalesced to give /n/.

On the other hand, subsequent to the changes of the PEA-A group in which there was a morphologically conditioned partial merger of /\*l/ and /\*θ/ to /s/, Powhatan made a complete phonemic coalescence of /\*θ/ and /\*t/ to /t/, and underwent a complete loss of PA and PEA /\*l/ without change in contrast so that /\*l/ became Powhatan /r/ which was probably a voiced single tap liquid. The falling together of PEA /\*θ/ and /\*t/ to /t/ in Powhatan paralleled an identical phonetic change in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, but these changes were historically independent and occurred as separate movements after the separation of Eastern Algonquian, which maintained the contrasts of /\*t/, /\*θ/ and /\*l/. This corrects the erroneous interpretation previously given by Michelson<sup>28</sup> and myself<sup>29</sup> that the

coalescence of PA /\*θ/ and /\*t/ to /t/ in Cree and Powhatan was significantly related, when as a matter of fact it was no more than an independent parallel innovation perhaps contingent upon a similar phonetic drift.

#### THE NUMERALS OF PROTO-ALGONQUIAN AND POWHATAN

In the Algonquian languages the cardinal numerals are based on a primeval digital enumeration in which the hands were customarily held in pronation. The Proto-Algonquian language during at least part of the Proto-Algonquian period was not a homogeneous speech. Individual surviving Algonquian languages show a blending of three original numeral systems, an archaic quinary system, a decimal system, and a protean and surrogate descriptive system. Failure to recognize these facts has caused most of the difficulties that have been encountered in reconstructing the Proto-Algonquian numeral forms. In the quinary system the numeral particles from one to ten fall into two groups, lower numerals of the first hand from one to five which were formed from elementary roots, and the higher numeral particles of the second hand from six to ten which were formed by compounding the roots of the lower numbers with the PA complex final /\*-a.šyeka/, consisting of the prefinal /\*-a.θ-/ 'by the side, of the row of the second hand' and the abstract final /\*-yeka/. To the quinary system belong PA /\*nekwetwi/ 'one', /\*nyi.šwi/ 'two' (from PA root /\*nyi.šw-/ 'couple, pair'), and /\*neʔθwi/ 'three', from which are formed the quinary system higher numeral particles PA /\*nekwetwa.šyeka/ 'six', /\*nyi.šwa.šyeka/ 'seven', and /\*neʔšwa.šyeka/ 'eight' which was an analogical or perhaps an assimilative form in the PA period for expected and earlier /\*neʔθwa.šyeka/.

In the decimal system there seems to be no clear division into lower and higher numbers. There are some problems of assignment, but the following belong to the decimal system: PA /\*pe.šyekwi/ 'one' (from PA root /\*pe.θ-/ 'single', supported by O /pe.šik/ 'one', P /pèsək<sup>w</sup>/ and S /pe.leko/ 'once'; with decimal system abstract final /\*-yekwi/), and PA /\*ta.pawi/ 'two' (from the extended root or marked allomorph /\*ta.paw-/ of the root /\*ta.pw-/ 'alike, equal, identical').

The quinary abstract final is PA /\*-yeka/ and the decimal system abstract final is /\*-yekwi/, which probably is related or paired. The decimal system

abstract final appears without a prefinal, but the quinary system abstract final is always preceded by the quinary prefinal /\*-a.θ-/ 'of the row of the second hand, by the side'. In some languages the quinary prefinal often functions as a final **without** the abstract final /\*-yeka/ in which case it assumes the form /\*-a.ši/ which is evidently the deverbal /\*-a.θ-/ of the PA root /\*ma.θ-/ 'side by side, in a row', C /ma.t-/.

Throughout the various languages both systems often show replacement by substitute descriptive numeral forms. The descriptive system is disparate because of alternative digital identifications so that the same form may appear with a different meaning in another language. They indicate that the hands were held in pronation while counting. Examples are found in PA /\*pe.yakwi/ 'little finger' from root /\*pe.yakw-/ 'alone, by itself', which appears in Cree as /pe.yak/ 'one' and as /payak/ 'ten' in all of the languages of southern New England and Long Island (SNE group) in which PA /\*e./ and /\*a/ fell together to SNE /a/; and PEA /\*wi.mpatwi/ which has the reflexes /wi.mpat/ 'one' in Pampticough (or Pamlico)<sup>30</sup> of the North Carolina coast and /wí.mpat/ 'ten' in the Munsee dialect of Delaware.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, the original numeral systems are obscured by frequent new formations, later rebuilding of forms so that elements from the originally separate three systems may be blended, and analogical reshaping, especially analogical alteration of endings. For example, the prevalent PEA /\*ta.pawa.ši/ 'seven' is a blend of a decimal system root with the quinary prefinal functioning as a final, and compounded in the style of the quinary system.

Some doublets are found in which a minor contrast serves to distinguish the forms of the quinary and decimal systems, especially at the endpoints of both the lower and higher numeral sets. This has made the independent particles for five and ten confusing and difficult to attempt to reconstruct unless this fact is realized. The assignment of one or the other of each pair to the proper system is arbitrary. The quinary (?) system has PA /\*nya.θanwi/ 'five', reflected in Shawnee /niya.lanwi/, Munsee Delaware /ná.lan/, and Arapaho /yóóθón/. The decimal system (?) has PA /\*nya.nanwi/ 'five', based on Cree /niya.nan/, and with apocope, Micmac

and Malecite-Passamaquoddy /nan/, and Penobscot (coastal dialect) /nan/. The Fox, Menomini, Ojibwa, and Mahican reflexes could belong to either system due to the merging of PA /\*θ/ and /\*n/ in these languages. The archetypes of the doublet for ten are more complicated, and Bloomfield's PA /\*meta.tahθe/ and Michelson's /\*meta.tahθwi/ do not satisfy the requirements of many languages.

The decimal (?) system has PA /\*meta.hθwi/ 'ten' supported by Fox /meta.swi/, Ojibwa /mita.sswi/, and Shawnee /meta'θwi/. The quinary (?) system has PA /\*meta.tanθwi/ 'ten' posited by Cree /mita.taht/ and derived /mita.tahtwa.w/ 'ten times', Menomini /meta.tah/ with stem /meta.tahn-/, and Arapaho /béteetox/, where /x/ is the reflex of /\*nθ/ as in Arapaho /wóoxé/ 'knife' from PA /\*ma.nθehsi/ 'flint knife'. Eastern Algonquian deviated very early, but follows the quinary (?) pattern with PEA /\*metaθanθwi/, and due to the ancient variation of PA and PEA /\*a/ and /\*e/, besides PEA /\*metaθanθwi/, there are also the PEA variants /\*metaθenθwi/ and /\*meteθenθwi/. PEA /\*metaθanθwi/ proceeds from PA /\*meta.tanθwi/ by regressive assimilation in which the PEA adformate sequence /\*-aθ-/ has replaced PA /\*-a.t-/ before /\*-anθ-/. PEA /\*metaθanθwi/ 'ten' is posited by Penobscot (and other Abenaki dialects) /mətala/ formed by dissimilatory suppression from pre-Abenaki /\*matalal/ from underlying morphophonemic [matalahl], Mahican /mtánit/ by syncope from morphophonemic [metanet], Delaware (Unami) /télən/, and Micmac and Malecite-Passamaquoddy /mtélən/. The Penobscot cluster /hl/ and Mahican /t/ are the regular reflexes of PA and PEA /\*nθ/. The reasons for final /-n/ in Delaware and Malecite-Passamaquoddy are not clear, but are perhaps of dissimilative origin, or may be due to a special treatment of word final /\*-nθ/ in these languages. At any rate, common Abenaki and Mahican in agreement strongly affirm PEA /\*metaθanθwi/, /\*metaθenθwi/.

#### LEXICON

In the Powhatan lexicon we shall conform to the following procedure. To facilitate reference all glosses will be numbered and made under an English entry. Each item will then be presented in three sections. Section (a) will contain what I believe to be the phonemic representation of the Powhatan

form; section (b) will give the recording(s) of Smith and Strachey with their English translations in modernized English spelling, together with references to the numbers of Harrington's sheets; and section (c) will present pertinent Proto-Algonquian or Proto-Eastern Algonquian reconstructions and supporting comparative data when available. Prior reconstructed forms given by Bloomfield not requiring emendation are coded (Bl. 1925 or 1946) following the entry. Reconstructions made by myself from 1937 to 1941 and from 1964 to the present, only some of which have been published, are repeated or corrected when required.

### Lexicon of Numbers

1. ONE
  - (a) /nekot/
  - (b) necut (Smith), nekut (H10), necut (H 11)
  - (c) PA /\*nekwetwi/ 'one', of the archaic quinary system, F /nekoti/, M /nekot/, S /nekoti/, uD /kwét.i/, mD /nkwéti/, Mh /nkwíta/ (from [nekweta] with final vowel analogically reshaped).
2. TWO
  - (a) /ni.ns/, with unoriginal /n/ as in some Miami-Illinois dialects.
  - (b) ningh (Smith), ninge (H10)
  - (c) PA /\*nyi.šwi/ 'two', of the archaic quinary system, from PA root /\*nyi.šw-/ 'couple, pair'. F /ni.šwi/, C /ni.so/, M /ni.s/, O /ni.š/, S /ni.šwi/, P /nis/, D /ní.ša/, Mh /ní.sa/, Mi /ni.šwi/ and /ni.nšenwi/ 'twice', Illinois (Boulanger and Gravier) /ni.nšwi/.
3. THREE
  - (a) /nass/, /nassa/, perhaps dialect difference.
  - (b) nuss (Smith), nussaugh (H10), nus (H14)
  - (c) PA /\*neʔθwi/ (B146) 'three', of the archaic quinary system. F /neswi/, C /nisto/ and /nistwa.w/ 'three times', M /neʔniw/, O /nisswi/, S /nθwi/, P /nahs/, D /náxa/, Mh /náxa/.
4. FOUR
  - (a) /ye.w/
  - (b) yowgh (Smith), yeough (H16)
  - (c) PA /\*nye.wwi/ (B125) 'four', of the decimal system. F /nye.wi/, C /ne.wo/, Mt /ne.w/, M /ni.w/,

O /ni·win/, S /niye·wi/, P (and all EA dialects) /yew/, WA and all SNE languages /yaw/, Mh /náwa/, D /né·wa/, Mc /new/, Ml-Ps /new/, Mi and Illinois /ni·wi/.

It is interesting to note that word initial PA /\*ny-/ in the chain of PEA languages from Newfoundland to North Carolina always occurs before historical PEA /\*e./, but is reduced to either /n-/ or /y-/ , these features being distributed in four regions: (1) /n-/ in the north (Mc, Ml, Ps), (2) /y-/ in all Abenaki and SNE languages, (3) /n-/ in Mh and all Delaware dialects, and (4) /y-/ again in the south in Nanticoke, Powhatan, and Pamlico.

## 5. FIVE

- (a) /pare·nsk/
- (b) paranske (Smith), parance (H12)
- (c) PEA /\*pale·neθkwi/ 'five', of the PEA descriptive system, which is probably analogical for an earlier /\*pale·neθki/ derived from the PA dependent noun /\*-neθki/ 'hand', reshaped by analogy to the ending of the decimal system abstract final /\*-yekwi/, and the PEA root /\*pale.-/ of uncertain meaning. P (and all EA dialects except the coastal dialect of Penobscot) /pálenask<sup>w</sup>/, uD /palé·naxk/.

## 6. SIX

- (a) /ka·ma·tenč/
- (b) comotinch (Smith), camatenge (H4)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*ka·ma·čihčini/ 'six' and by haplology PEA /\*ka·ma·hčini/, of the descriptive system (i. e. "contrary or opposite thumb," confirming that the hands were held in pronation while counting). Ps-Ml /kamáhčín/ 'six', Powhatan /ka·ma·tenč/ with the relatively late substitution of final /-tenč/ from the PA dependent noun /\*-θenčy-i/ 'hand, finger'. There is a cognate in Montauk of eastern Long Island but it is poorly recorded as conma.

The root is PA /\*ka.ma.t-/ 'contrary, opposite', sparingly attested in M /kama.č/ 'contrarily', apparently morphophonemic M |ka.ma.t-|. The final is PA /\*-ihčín-i/ 'thumb', deverbal from the following: PA /\*nečihčini/ 'my thumb' INAN; C /ničihčín/; P /nèčihčín/.

## 7. SEVEN

- (a) /ta.pawa.s/
- (b) toppawoss (Smith), but not recorded by Strachey.
- (c) PEA /\*ta.pawa.ši/ 'seven', a blend of the decimal system root PA /\*ta.paw-/ 'two, two of a kind' (an extended form or marked allomorph of PA root /\*ta.pw-/ 'alike, equal, identical') for which compare Mc and Ml-Ps /tapo/ 'two', and the PA quinary system prefinal /\*-a.θ-/ functioning as the final /\*-a.ši/ 'of the row of the second hand'. Prefinal /\*-a.θ-/ is the deverbal of the PA root /\*ma.θ-/ 'side by side, in a row'. P (and all EA dialects) /tápawas/, Mh /tá.pawa.s/, and equivalents are found in the SNE dialects of central Long Island and in Pamlico of the North Carolina coast.

## 8. EIGHT

- (a) /nasswa.s/
- (b) nusswash (Smith), nuschawas (H10)
- (c) PA /\*neʔšwa.šyeka/ 'eight', of the archaic quinary system, and probably analogical or assimilative for an earlier form during the PA period from PA root /\*neʔθw-/ 'three', positing early PA /\*neʔθwa.šyeka/. If the change was analogical the source was in the act of counting from quinary PA /\*nyi.šwa.šyeka/ 'seven', supported by Moose Cree /ni.swa.sik/, uD /ni.šá.š/, mD /ni.šwá.š/, and Ms /nisasək/ (Eliot nesáusuk, Cotton nēsasuk), or it may have been caused by regressive assimilation.

F /nešwa.šika/, M /suasek/ for expected /\*neʔsuasek/, O /niššwa.sswi/ (ending analogically reshaped), S /nθwa.šikθwi/ (ending analogically



reshaped), P (and all EA dialects) /nsàsək/ from underlying |nəhsasək|, D /xa·š/, Mh /xá·sa/.

## 9. NINE

- (a) /ke·ka·ta·s/
- (b) kekatawgh (Smith), kykeytawc (H9)
- (c) This is a descriptive system form with the quinary prefinal, suggesting the pseudo-PEA formation /\*ke·kya·ta·ši/ 'nine' but there are no similar forms in other languages except C /ke·ka·t-mita·taht/ 'nine'. The root is /\*ke·kya·t-/ found in PA /\*ke·kya·ta/ 'almost, nearly', F /ke·kya·ta/, C /ke·ka·č/, O /ke·ka·/, P /kèka/.

## 10. TEN

- (a) /ka·ski·k/
- (b) kaskeke (Smith), koske (H9)
- (c) There is a cognate in Pamlico (Pampticough cosh, Lawson 1709, p. 226; misprint for cosk or coshk?) which suggests a southeastern PEA /\*ka·škyekwi/ 'ten' formed with the decimal system abstract final PA /\*-yekwi/.

It is perhaps impossible to reconstruct the entire Proto-Algonquian number system with proper assurance by the strict comparative method of the neogrammarians without the aid of written records from antiquity. This can be attributed to the dying out of elements, extensive analogical changes, possibly some interlingual borrowing, and the fragmentation of a triadic nomenclature in the course of several millennia of attrition. It is probable that the quinary, decimal, and descriptive orders of numerals are, relatively speaking, of nearly equal age and reflect a social stratification among the Proto-Algonquian people in which each class manifested some speech differences. Diglossia is known to occur in some societies in which there are noble and ignoble castes, or, in which there is an absorbing sexual dichotomization. The latter is often based on a sexual division of labor and predisposing social attitudes reinforced by taboos, especially menstrual and pubertal customs requiring separate residence. The second situation would seem to correspond to the practices of the Proto-Algonquians, and had sociolinguistic consequences. The Proto-Algonquian language was not a uniform speech, and not only were there distinctions in the number systems, but also frequent doublets and multiple reconstructible lexical

items with the same meaning. One can speculate with some reason but without absolute proof that there were socially standardized but mutually intelligible differences in the speech of men and women, and possibly of children as well. Furthermore, it is suspected that the ancient innovations in the separate speech of children may account for the surviving descriptive number system. One could suggest too, without proof, that the quinary system represents the original usage of women and the decimal system that of men. Early atomization and widespread dispersal of the Algonquian peoples seems to have resulted in the disintegration of such age-sex distinctions in speech so that the descendent languages recorded in modern times show confused and haphazard patterns of retention of the number systems and other reconstructible doublets and duplicate lexical items. Without ancient written records full explication of Proto-Algonquian by the comparative method is a sanguine prospect but has serious limitations. A de facto archaism must persist in at least two adequately recorded descendent languages even to be considered as reconstructible, and then the two cognates may not show the requisite sound distinctions to make a satisfactory reconstruction. Moreover, when two or more glosses in identical semantic categories are reconstructed so that there is a duplication of meaning, the temporal and sociolinguistic relations of these contrasting reconstructions are difficult to determine. On the other hand, an archaism surviving in only one language of a stock usually cannot be identified as such by the neogrammarian method unless supported by internal reconstruction, and even more unfavorable, an original feature not persisting in any extant language is irretrievably lost. An incomplete, quasi-idealized syllabus, in part speculative rather than demonstrably rigorous, of the Proto-Algonquian number systems is epitomized below. The doublet numbers for five and ten of the quinary and decimal systems are arbitrarily assigned since there are no obvious distinguishing criteria.

| <u>Quinary</u>       | <u>Decimal</u> | <u>Fused Quinary-Decimal</u> |
|----------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. /*nekwetwi/       | /*pe·šyekwi/   |                              |
| 2. /*nyi·šwi/        | /*ta·pawi/     |                              |
| 3. /*neʔθwi/         | .....          |                              |
| 4. /*ša·ka/          | /*nye·wwi/     |                              |
| 5. /*nya·θanwi/      | /*nya·nanwi/   |                              |
| 6. /*nekwetwa·šyeka/ | .....          |                              |
| 7. /*nyi·šwa·šyeka/  | .....          | /*ta·pawa·šyeka/             |

8. /\*neʔθwa·šyeka/ .....  
 9. /\*ša·ka·šyeka/ /\*no·lyiwi/  
 10. /\*meta·tanθwi/ /\*meta·hθwi/

### Descriptive System

- 1 or 10. ("little finger") /\*pe·yakwi/ (C, Mt, all SNE)  
 1 or 10. /\*wi·mpatwi/ (mD, Pamlico)  
 5. ("full (?) hand") /\*pale·neθki/ (EA, uD, Powhatan)  
 5. ("on one of two sides") /\*napaθe·θwi/ (Mt, most SNE, Nanticoke)  
 6. ("opposite thumb") /\*ka·ma·čihčini/ (Ml, Ps, Montauk, Powhatan)  
 7. ("pointer, forefinger") /\*eθwahikani/ (F, M, Ml, Ps, Mc)

Attention should be called to the fact that Fox /ša·ka/ and reshaped Menomini /sa·kε·w/ 'nine', found also in modified form in some eastern Cree dialects, are believed to represent original quinary four, and that these languages transferred digital identification to the other hand. This is supported by the Ojibwa and Shawnee numbers for nine which, although they have analogically reshaped endings, provide evidence of the quinary higher numeral pattern following the quinary root /\*ša·k-/ , Ojibwa /ša·nk-/ with unoriginal n-stop cluster as shown by eastern Cree and Menomini /sa·k-/.

### Word Lexicon

It is probably impossible to disentangle all of Strachey's recordings because of errors in given meaning which are compounded with the difficulties that one encounters in interpreting his handwriting. This lexicon consequently is confined to glosses which the author believes are reasonably certain. Doubtlessly additional recordings can be solved by further investigation. However, the following lexicon will suffice to determine the major phonological features of Powhatan and to ascertain the reflexes of most of the Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters.

11. ABOVE (a) /oskič/  
 (b) oskeitch "above" (H2)  
 (c) PA /\*weθkičl/, /\*waθkičl/ 'above, on top (of), on the surface of, on the outside of', F /ahkwičl/ (reshaped by analogy to Fox root /akw-/ 'cover'), C /waskič/, M /wahke·č/, O /akkit-/ as in /akkita·kki/ 'on the land', P /wskičl/. However,

S /oŝkiči/ does not match. The PA root is /\*weθkit-, \*waθkit-/ and shows the ancient variation of /\*e/ and /\*a/.

A common form is PA /\*waθkitaxkamikwi/ 'the world, the top of the ground expanse, the surface of the earth, the upperworld', C /waskitaskamik/, M /wahke·tahkamek/, P /wskítkamik<sup>W</sup>/ with syncope, from |waskitahkamikw|.

12. ACORN
- (a) /ana·skimin/ INAN, pl. /ana·skimins/
  - (b) anaskemens "acorns" (H2), anaskimmens "acorn" (H2)
  - (c) PEA /\*ana·θkimini/ (?) 'acorn', cluster /\*θk/ not proven. P /anáskimin/, pl. /anaskíminal/, Np pl. /anasčiminas/ (Mathevet p. 37 anechemaněs "glands").
13. ANT
- (a) /e·rikwess/, pl. /e·rikwessak/
  - (b) arigwessac "ants" (H2)
  - (c) PA /\*e·likwa/ 'ant', (PA /\*-ikw-a/ 'gnawing creature, rodent'), F /e·nikono·sa/ dimin., C /e·yik/, pl. /e·yikwak/, M /ε·nek/, O /e·niko/, Mi /e·likwa/, mD /e·líkwəs/, pl. /e·líkwəsak/, P /énik<sup>W</sup>əss/, pl. /énik<sup>W</sup>sak/ (borrowed from some n-dialect since all other EA dialects have /élik<sup>W</sup>əss/).
14. ARISE
- (a) /pasekwi·w/ (AI) 'he arises, gets up from his seat'; /pasekwi·s/ (2 pers. sing. imper.) 'arise!, get thou up from your seat!'
  - (b) passaqueac "rise up" (H13)
  - (c) PA /\*pasekwi·wa/ (AI) 'he arises, gets up from his seat', F /pasekwi·wa/, C /pasiko·w/, O /pasikwi·/, S /paθekwi/. PA /\*pasekwi·lwe/ (2 pers. sing. imper.) 'arise!, get thou up from your seat!', F /pasekwi·no/, O /pasikwi·n/, S /paθekwi·lo/, Np /pasikwis/ (Mathevet pp. 14, 62, 114 passik8is "leve toy").
15. ARM
- (a) /nenesk/ 'my arm' INAN, pl. /neneskas/ 'my arms'.

- (b) nesc 'arm' (H2), nneuscos 'arms' (H2)
- (c) PA /\*neneθki/ 'my arm, hand' INAN, pl. /\*neneθkali/,  
F /nenehki/, M /nenε·h/, pl. /nenε·hkan/, O  
/ninikk/, pl. /ninikkan/, S /nineʔki/, pl.  
/nineʔkali/, uD /nnaxk/, Mh /nnisk/.
16. ARROW
- (a) /ato·ns/ 'arrow'; /askwiwa·n/ 'arrow'; /assawa·n/  
'fletched arrow with a head' AN, pl. /assawa·nak/
- (b) attonce 'arrows' (Smith); asgweowan 'arrow' (H2),  
vsquion 'arrow' (H15); assaovncawk 'feathers of an  
arrow' (H6), assamvnh 'head of an arrow that is  
round' (H7), with miswriting of m for w.
- (c) PA /\*aθwi/ 'arrow' (PA root /\*aθw- / 'round'),  
dimin. PA /\*aθo·nsi/, C /atos/, M /ani·h/, pl.  
/ano·n/, O /anwi/, pl. /anwi·n/, S /alwi/, pl.  
/alo·li/, D /aló·ns/, P /âlos/ 'penis', but 'arrow'  
in other EA dialects. It is INAN in all languages  
except D which has pl. /aló·nsak/.
- PA /\*akaxkwa/ 'blunt or round-headed arrow'  
(gender doubtful); F /akahkwi/ 'arrow', pl.  
/akahko·ni/ INAN, C /akask/ 'round-headed arrow',  
pl. /akaskwak/ AN, P |-ahkw| in /énikahk<sup>w</sup>/ 'fish-  
spear', pl. /eníkahk<sup>w</sup>ak/; Powhatan /askw- / in  
/askwiwa·n/ seems to be a root which appears as  
the deverbal noun final /\*-axkw- / in the other lan-  
guages. It is not the same as PA /\*-a·xkw- / 'wood'.
- PA /\*aʔθawa·na/ 'fletched arrow, arrow with a  
stone head and feathers' AN; O /assawa·n/, pl.  
/assawa·nak/; P /ssàwan/, pl. /ssáwanal/ 'stone  
arrowhead(s)', /nətáhsawan/ 'my arrowhead'; com-  
pare C /astawe·w/ 'he fletches arrows'.
17. AWAKE
- (a) /amamo·w/ (AI) 'he awakes, wakes up'; /amamis/  
(2 pers. sing. imper.) 'awake!', 'wake up!'
- (b) vmamuū 'waken' (H15), aumaumec 'awake' (H2)
- (c) PA /\*amamwiwa/ (AI) 'he awakes, wakes up'; S  
/amamo/.

## 18. AWL

- (a) /mekwess/ 'awl', /omekwessem/ 'his awl'.  
 (b) vmeqwussum 'a stab' (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*mekwehsi/ 'awl' (cluster /\*hs/ not proven since there is no Menomini cognate and it could be /\*ʔs/), PA /\*wemekwehsemi/ 'his awl'; F /mekosi/, pl. /mekosani/, /omekosemi/ 'his awl'; O /miko:ss/, pl. /miko:ssan/; P /màkohs/, pl. /màkohsal/, /wəməkohsəm/ 'his awl'; mD /məkó:s/; Ms and Np /məkws/ (Ms mukqs Eliot, Exodus 21:6, Deuteron. 15:17; Np měk8s, pl. měk8ssak AN, Mathevet p. 2).

## 19. BAG, BASKET

- (a) /meno.te./ 'bag, basket', pl. /meno.tas/; dimin. /meno.te.ns/ 'small basket'.  
 (b) manote 'basket' (H10), mannottaihcaun 'make a basket'; manotyens 'little baskets' (actually sg.) (Smith)  
 (c) PA /\*-mo.tayi/ (dependent noun) 'bag, basket, sack'; M /nemu.ti.h/ 'my bag' dimin., pl. /nemu.ti.hsan/, /omu.ti.h/ 'his bag'; O /nimo.te.ns/ 'my pocket' dimin. (dependent noun).

PA and only PEA form /\*meno.tayi/ 'someone's bag; bag, basket, sack' with indefinite possessor prefix /\*me-/ and with /m/ replaced by /n/ by dissimilation; M /menu.ti.h/ dimin. (from /-mu.ti.h/ by dissimilation as Bloomfield showed, Menomini Lang. 6. 84, p. 131), pl. /menu.ti.hsan/; P /mənənote/, pl. /mənənotal/, /nəmənənote/ 'my bag' with the indefinite prefix treated as part of the stem |mənotay-|; mD /mənó.te.s/ 'pouch' AN dimin., pl. /mənó.te.sak/.

## 20. BALL

- (a) /atow/ 'ball', /atowetowe.w/ 'cymbling, summer squash'.  
 (b) attowh 'ball' (first t not crossed) (H2), autowtaoh 'ear of wheat' (H5)  
 (c) PA /\*atowa/ 'ball, mushroom' AN; M /wato.w/ 'ball' AN, /wa.patow/ 'mushroom' (i. e., 'white

ball"); S /atowa/ 'mushroom', pl. /atowaki/;  
 P /atówsak<sup>w</sup>e/ 'jack-o'-lantern, false chanterelle'  
 INAN (refers to phosphorescent mushrooms of  
 genus Clitocybe), and P /atówetəwan/ 'crookneck  
 or winter squash' (Cucurbita moschata Duchesne)  
 INAN; |atow-əhs-akway|, |atow-ətow-an|.

PEA /\*atowetowe-wa/ 'cymbling or summer  
 squash' (Cucurbita maxima Duchesne) AN; P  
 /atówetəwe/ 'cymbling' AN, pl. /atówetəwak/.

## 21. BAST

- (a) /wi·kepi/ 'bast, wicopy, piece of inner fibrous  
 bark of linden or leatherwood' (Dirca palustris  
 L.), INAN, pl. /wi·kepi·s/.

- (b) weihkippeis "hemp" (H8), (actually pl.)

- (c) PA /\*wi·kwepyi/ 'bast, piece of inner fibrous  
 bark', pl. /\*wi·kwepyal/; F /wi·kopi/, pl.  
 /wi·kopye·ni/; M /we·kop/, pl. /we·kopyan/;  
 O /wi·kop/, pl. /wi·kopi·n/; S /wi·kopi/, pl.  
 /wi·kopiwali/; P /wìkəpi/, pl. /wìkəpəyal/.

In addition to the above meanings, in Penobscot  
 the term is used also for the sapwood splints of  
 the black ash employed in making baskets. This  
 is INAN, however, there is an AN form as follows:  
 PA /\*wi·kwepya/ 'tree ring (of annual growth),  
 concentric layer of wood' AN; P /wìkəpi/, pl.  
 /wìkəpəyak/; but unfortunately this has not been  
 recorded in other languages.

## 22. BEARD

- (a) /mi·ssetonowa·n/ 'beard' INAN, pl.  
 /mi·ssetonowa·ns/ 'facial hairs, whiskers'.

- (b) wehsatonowans "beard" (H2), messetonoanse  
 "beard" (H10), wisetonoans "beard" (H15); the  
 first and third examples evidently have an error of  
w for m.

- (c) PA /\*mi·?letona·kani/ 'beard'; F /mi·setona·kani/;  
 M /me·?netona·kan/ AN; C /mi·hyi·stowa·n/  
 (mi·hy- 'hairy', deverbal -i·stow-, PA /\*-i·?tow-/,

'whisker', and abstract noun final -a·n); O /mi·ssitona·kan/. The PA elements are /\*mi·ʔl-/ 'hairy', deverbal medial /\*-eton-/ from dependent noun stem /\*-eto·n-i/ 'mouth', and noun final /\*-a·kan-i/ 'device, contrivance'.

The Powhatan word /mi·ssetonowa·n/ 'beard' has the same root or initial element and the same medial as the PA form, but a different prefinal /-ow-/ and final /-a·n/ similar to the Cree term, as if pseudo-PEA /\*mi·hletonowa·ni/.

## 23. BEAVER

- (a) /po·yawe·w/ 'young beaver, pup of any fur-bearing mammal up to one year of age'.
- (b) pohkeuw 'otter or rather beaver' (H11), with mishearing or miswriting of what looks like a k but possibly could be intended for a y.
- (c) PA /\*po·yawe·wa/ 'beaver up to one year of age, pup of any fur-bearing mammal'; C /po·yawe·w/; O /apo·yawe·/ with prothetic unoriginal vowel; P /pəyáwehso/ dimin., |poy-awe-əhs-iw|.

## 24. BIG

- (a) /manki/ (II) 'it is big'.
- (b) aquintayne manggey 'a great ship' (H2)
- (c) PA root /\*mank-/ 'big'; F /mak-/ , /makekinwa/ 'he is big'; M /mahk-/ , /mahka·hkosew/ 'he is big (as a wooden object)'; O /mank-/ , /mankiška·/ 'it is big'; S /mak-/ , /makiya·wi/ 'they (INAN pl.) are big'; uD /amánki/ 'it is big', with prothetic vowel.

## 25. BIRD

- (a) /si·ssi·p/ 'bird, fowl, duck'.
- (b) tshessip 'bird' (H3)
- (c) PA /\*ši·ʔši·pa/ (B146) 'duck, fowl, large bird'; F /ši·ši·pa/; C /si·si·p/; M /se·ʔsep/; O /ši·šši·p/; S /šiʔši·pa/; P /ssìpəss/ dimin., /nətáhsipsəm/ 'my duck, bird, fowl', stem |ahsip-əhs|.

## 26. BITCH

- (a) /askwe·ssem/



- (b) vsqwausum 'bitch' (H3)
- (c) PA /\*eθkwe.ʔθemwa/ 'bitch'; C /iskwe.stim/;  
P /sk<sup>w</sup>əhsəmoɦs/ dimin., [askwehsəmw-əɦs].
27. BLACK
- (a) /mahkate.we.w/ (II) 'it is black'. See COAL, entry 52.
- (b) mahcatawauwh 'black' (H3)
- (c) PA /\*maxkate.we.wi/ 'it is black'; F  
/mahkate.wa.wi/; C /mahkate.wa.w/; M  
/mahka.tə.w-/ 'black' (prenoun); O /makkate.wa./;  
S /mkate.wa/; P /mkasewi-/ and /mehkasayi-/  
'black' (paired prenominals), root |məhkasew-| ,  
(reshaped by analogical contamination with PA  
/\*maxkanšye.wi/, P /mkàse/ 'coal, ember');  
mD /máhkate.w/.

There is some doubt about the cluster /\*xk/ in this gloss, for Cree points to /\*hk/, but Munsee supports /\*xk/ which is the regular source of /hk/, and PA /\*hk/ has the reflex /h/ in all Delaware dialects. Powhatan seems to have /sk/ as the reflex of /\*xk/, but there are apparently some exceptions where /hk/ occurs. Since it can be shown that Strachey recorded more than one dialect of Powhatan it seems quite possible that one dialect had /sk/ as the reflex of /\*xk/ and the other /hk/. Possible borrowing in one or more languages may account for some of the discrepancies.

For the alternation of /\*a./:/\*e./, leveled out in Fox, Cree, Ojibwa, and Shawnee see Bloomfield (1946; Section 35, p. 98).

28. BLOOD
- (a) /mesk/ 'blood'.
- (b) miskc 'heart' (H10); misunderstanding for 'blood'.
- (c) PA /\*meçkwi/ 'blood' (B125); F /meškwĩ/; C  
/mihkoh/, /nimihk/ 'my blood'; Mt /mohk/;  
M /məhki.h/; O /miskwi/; S /mškwĩ/; mD

/mohk/; Nr /mæskwi/ (Roger Williams mishquè, msqui "blood").

## 29. BLOW

- (a) /nepo·ta·tamen/ 'I blow (on) it'.  
 (b) nepotatamen "to blow anything" (H3)  
 (c) PA /\*nepo·ta·ta/ 'I blow it', /\*po·ta·tamwa/ 'he blows it' (TI absolute); F /nepo·ta·ta/ 'I blow on it, I make a fire', /po·ta·tamwa/ 'he makes a fire, blows on it'; C /po·ta·tam/ 'he blows it'; M /po·tawəw/ 'he builds a fire'; O /nipo·ta·ta·n/ 'I blow (on) it' from PA TI-objective /\*nepo·ta·ta·ni/; S /nipo·ta·ta/ 'I blow on it'; P /nəpotáwatamən/ 'I blow on it', /pótawe/ (AI) 'he blows, he (snake, cat) hisses'.

The simplex root is PA /\*po·t-/ 'blow, hiss' but some languages (Menomini and Penobscot) use the extended root or marked allomorph /\*po·taw-/.

## 30. BLOW NOSE

- (a) /saniko·w/ 'he blows his nose, sneezes'.  
 (b) zanekoue "sneeze" (H16)  
 (c) PA /\*sanikwiwa/ 'he blows his nose'; M /sane·ko·w/; P /sániko/, /nəsánik<sup>w</sup>i/ 'I blow my nose'. Since Ojibwa has /s/ rather than /š/ in a similar form, /\*s/ is preferred to /\*š/ in the reconstruction.

## 31. BOAT

- (a) /messo·t/ 'boat, ship, large watercraft', pl. /messo·tas/  
 (b) mushowt "ship" (H7), mussawutuc "ship" (H13), (actually pl.)  
 (c) PA /\*meʔθo·ši/ 'boat, large watercraft', pl. /\*meʔθo·θali/, with root PA /\*meʔθ-/ 'big, great' (B146); C /misto·t/; Mi /misso·li/ with /l/ from /\*θ/ analogically restored for reflex of expected /\*š/ by analogy to the plural form, pl. /misso·la/; Ms /mæsson/ (Eliot and Mayhew mishoon, mushoon, pl. mushoonash "boats",

John 6:23); Nr (Cowesit) /mæsson/ (Roger Williams mishoðn "canoe, boat").

The dependent noun stem and noun final PA /\*-o-θ-/ 'boat' shows that in the PEA-A languages (Powhatan, Narragansett, and Massachussee) the partial phonemic merger of syllable final /\*-l, \*-θ/ to /\*-š/ or its reflexes did not affect derivational morphemes, but only inflectional suffixes and particle endings.

## 32. BONE

- (a) /waskan/ 'bone'.
- (b) wuskan "bone" (H3), wauscan "bone" (H15)
- (c) PA /\*waθkani/ 'bone', pl. /\*waθkanali/; F /ahkani/, pl. /ahkanani/; C /oskan/; M /ohka.n/, pl. /ohka.nan/, /neto.hkanem/ 'my bone'; O /okkan/, pl. /okkanan/; S /wʔkani/; WA /wskan/; uD /xkan/, mD /waxkán/; Ms /wəskan/, (Eliot wuskon John 19:36, wuskonash pl. Psalm 34:20).

## 33. BOW

- (a) /ahta.p/ 'bow'.
- (b) attawp (Smith), auhtab (H3), hawtoppe "bow" (H7)
- (c) PA /\*aʔta.pya/ 'bow' AN, from PA root /\*aʔt-/ 'placed in position, set in place', and noun final /\*-a.py-/ 'cord, string'; C /ahča.piy/ reshaped for expected /\*asta.piy/ as shown by Montagnais, and with diminutive symbolism of /č/ for /t/ but AN in all dialects; Mt /ašča.piy/ AN, pl. /ašča.pi.č/; P /ttàpi/, pl. /ttàpəyak/, /nətáhtapi/ 'my bow', /wətáhtapəyal/ 'his bow', stem |aht-əpiy|; uD /hata.p.i/ AN.

## 34. BOWEL

- (a) /otakes/ 'his bowel', pl. /otakesi.s/ 'his bowels'.
- (b) otakeisheheis "guts of anything" (H7)
- (c) PA /\*-θakešyi/ 'bowel, entrail, gut, intestine' INAN dependent noun, pl. /\*-θakešyali/; PA /\*weθakešyi/ 'his bowel'; F /onakeši/ 'his bowel', pl. /onakešye.ni/; C /otakisiy/, pl. /otakisiya/; M /ona.kes/, pl. /ona.kesyan/;

- O /onakiš/, pl. /onakiši·n/; P /wəlakəsi/, pl. /wəlakəsəyal/, dependent stem |-lakəsiy|.
35. BOWL
- (a) /ora·kan/ 'bowl, dish'.  
 (b) ouracan "dish" (H5)  
 (c) PA /\*wela·kani/ 'bowl, dish' (Bl25, Lang. 1:145, /\*ula·kani/); F /ana·kani/, pl. /ana·kanani/; C /oya·kan/ INAN; M /ona·kan/; O /ona·kan/, pl. /ona·kanan/; S /ola·ka/, pl. /ola·kana/; P /wəlakan/ 'bowl' (not 'dish'), pl. /wəlakanak/ AN.
36. BOWSTRING
- (a) /a·pi·s/ 'bowstrings', INAN pl.  
 (b) aupeis "bowstring" (H3), auppes "bowstring" (H2)  
 (c) PA /\*aʔča·pyi/ 'bowstring' INAN; O /ačča·p/, pl. /ačča·pi·n/. One wonders whether Strachey did not miss an initial syllable since PA /\*-a·py-/ does not seem to appear as a root elsewhere. See BOW, entry 33.
37. BOY
- (a) /oska·pe·ss/  
 (b) vscapess "boy" (H3)  
 (c) PA /\*weška·pe·wehsa/ 'young ceremonial attendant, boy attending a chief'; M /oska·pɛ·wes/, pl. /oska·pɛ·wehsak/; O /oška·pe·wiss/. Note contraction of /\*-e·we-/ to /e·/ in Powhatan.
38. BREAD
- (a) /apo·n/ 'bread' INAN, pl. /apo·ns, apo·nas/ 'loaves of bread'.  
 (b) apones "bread" (H2), appoans (H3), apetawh poan "broil or toast bread" (H3), ponas "bread" (pl.) (Smith)  
 (c) PA /\*apwa·na/ 'roast of corn bread' AN, PA /\*apwa·ni/ 'roast of meat, roasted haunch'; (F /apo·ne·wa/ 'he makes a roast for him'); C /apwa·n/ 'roast of meat' INAN; M /apuan/ AN 'roast of corn bread', INAN 'roast of meat, roasted haunch'; P /āpan/ 'loaf of bread, corn bread' AN, pl. /āpanak/ 'loaves of bread', dimin. AN

/ápanis/ 'biscuit, cake', pl. /apánisak/.

## 39. BREAST

- (a) /oto·ss/ 'her breast', dependent noun, INAN.
- (b) otaus "woman's breast" (H16)
- (c) PA /\*-to·hša/ 'breast, teat, udder' AN dependent noun, PA /\*weto·hšali/ 'her breast, teat'; C /mito·to·s/ 'someone's breast, udder' AN dependent noun, /nito·to·sim/ 'my breast'; Mt /oto·to·šim/ 'her breast', /nito·to·šim/ 'my breast'; M /to·to·hs-/ 'teat' in /to·to·hsapoh/ jest word for 'milk', labeled foreign by Bloomfield (Menom. Lang. 1962, 14. 39, p. 232); O /to·to·šš/, pl. /to·to·ššak/ AN, but independent noun, /oto·to·ššan/ 'her breast'.

Cree and Ojibwa have rebuilt the form with intercalated /t/ following the pronominal prefixes, and treated the original third person dependent noun as the remainder of the stem, Ojibwa going one step further than Cree and making a new independent root in /t-/. The Menomini term is probably a loan from Ojibwa. The Powhatan form seems to be the archaic one.

## 40. BRIAR

- (a) /ka·wins/ 'briar, bramble' INAN, pl. /ka·winsas/
- (b) cawindgus "bramble or briar" (H3), (actually pl.)
- (c) PA /\*ka·winšyi/ 'bramble, briar, bur' INAN, but PA /\*ka·winšya/ 'spine, thorn' AN; S /ka·wi/ 'thorn' AN, pl. /ka·wi·ki/, /ka·wi·ši/ 'briar plant or stalk' INAN; P /káwisi/ AN 'spine, thorn', but INAN 'bramble, briar, bur', pl. /káwisəyak/ 'thorns', /káwisəyal/ 'brambles, briars'; mD /ka·winši/ 'thorn' AN.

## 41. BROOM

- (a) /či·kkahikan/, pl. /či·kkahikanas/
- (b) tshekehicannous "broom" (H3), (actually pl.)
- (c) PEA /\*či·kehkahikani/ 'broom'; P /čikkáhikan/; PA has /\*či·katahikani/; M /če·katahekan/; O /či·kata?ikan/; S /či·kathika/.

42. BROTHER (a) /ni·mat/ 'my brother' (man speaking), /ki·mat/ 'thy brother'.  
 (b) nemat 'brother' (H3), kemotte (H8)  
 (c) PA /\*-i·mata/ 'brother', dependent noun, man speaking, /\*ni·mata/ 'my brother'; M /ne·mat/ 'my brother' (man speaking), pl. /ne·matak/; mD /ní·mat/ 'my brother' (man speaking); Ms /nimat/ (Eliot nemat 'my brother', wematoh 'his brother', First Chron. 1:19).
43. BRUSH (a) /nepawahama/ (AI formed from an objectless TI) 'I do brushing'.  
 (b) vnepawahamma 'brush' (H3)  
 (c) PA /\*pawahamwa/ (TI absolute) 'he brushes it off, knocks it off by instrument'; M /pawa·ham/; PA /\*nepawaha·ni/ (TI objective) 'I brush or knock it off by instrument'; M /nepa·wahan/; O /nipawa<sup>a</sup>·n/.
44. CANOE (a) /akwinten/ INAN  
 (b) acquintan (Smith), aquintayne 'canoe, boat' (H2), aqintān 'boat' (H3), aqueintan 'canoe' (H4)  
 (c) PEA /\*akwintenwi/ 'canoe'; P /ák<sup>w</sup>itən/, pl. /ák<sup>w</sup>itənoł/. Compare PA /\*akwinte·wi/ 'it floats' (II).
45. CAPSIZE (a) /kotapeska·w/ 'he capsizes, upsets in a boat, he keels or tips over'.  
 (b) cotappesseaw 'overset or a boat to turn keel up' (H11). Note error of ss for sk.  
 (c) PA /\*kweθapeška·wa/ (AI) 'he capsizes, upsets, keels over, tips over in a boat or canoe'; C /kotapiska·w/; O /konapiška·/.  
 There is also PA /\*ko·θka·we·wa/ with the same meaning; F /ko·hka·we·wa/; M /ko·hkawəw/; P /kóskawe/.
46. CHESTNUT (a) /a·pimin/, pl. /a·pimins/ 'chestnuts', INAN  
 (b) opemens 'chestnuts' (H11)  
 (c) PEA /\*wa·pimini/ 'chestnut'; P (and all EA

dialects) /wápimin/ 'chestnut', pl. /wapíminal/ INAN. This term occurs in Fox and Menomini with the meaning 'maize' and in some Ojibwa dialects with the meaning 'apple'. Compare mD /wa·pim/ 'chestnut'.

## 47. CHILD

- (a) /neni·čá·n/ 'my child'.
- (b) nechaan "child" (H4)
- (c) PA /\*-ni·čya·na/ 'child, offspring', dependent noun, /\*neni·čya·na/ 'my child' (B146 gives only the dimin. PA /\*neni·čya·nehsa/); F /neni·čá·nesa/, 'my child', /oni·čá·nesani/ 'his child'; M /neni·čianeh/; O /nini·čá·niss/; S /nini·čá·na/, /oni·čá·nali/ 'his child'; P /nèničán/, /wəníčanal/ 'his child'; uD /nní·č·a·n/ 'my daughter' with semantic change; Mh /nní·čá·n/, /wní·čá·nan/ 'his child'.

## 48. CHINQUAPIN

- (a) /či·hči·nkwe·min/ INAN, pl. /či·hči·nkwe·mins/, (Castanea pumila [L.] Miller), i. e., "prickly eye berry".
- (b) chichiquamins "kind of grain to eat" (H4), chechinquamins "nut like a small acorn, good meat" (H11), chechinquamins "like a very small acorn" and "growing on little trees, husked like a chestnut" (Smith)
- (c) Pseudo-PEA /\*či·hči·nkwe·mini/; from root PA /\*či·ʔt-/ 'jab, prick', C /či·st-/ , M /če·ʔt-/ , O /či·tt-/ , and medial PA /\*-i·nkwe·-/ 'eye', F /-i·kwe·-/ , M /-e·hkwe·-/ , O /-i·nkwe·-/ , P /-ikwe·-/ , and PA final /\*-min-i/ 'berry, grain, fruit, drupe'.

## 49. CLAW

- (a) /mehkas/ 'someone's claw, nail, hoof' AN; /nehkas/ 'my nail', pl. /nehkasi·k/
- (b) mekouse "nail of fingers or toes" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*-škašya/ 'claw, nail' AN dependent noun; PA /\*neškašya/ 'my nail'; F /neškaši/, pl.

/neškašye·ki/; C /niskasiy/, pl. /niskasiyak/;  
M /neska·s/, pl. /neska·syak/; O /niškanš/,  
pl. /niškanši·k/ with unoriginal nasal cluster;  
S /neškaša/, pl. /neškaše·ki/. However,  
Eastern Algonquian for obscure reasons reflects  
a different archetype.

PEA /\*-xkašya/, /\*nexkašya/ 'my nail'; P  
/nkàsi/, pl. /nkàsəyak/; uD /nhík·aš/; Ms  
/nəhkas/ (Eliot wuhkasoh 'his nail(s)', Deuteron.  
21:12).

## 50. CLAY

- (a) /asi·skiw/ 'clay, mud'.  
(b) assesquewh 'clay they make pipes of' (H2)  
(c) PA /\*ašyeškiwi/ 'clay, mud'; F /ašiškiwi/;  
C /asiskiy/; Mt /ašiščiy/; O /ašiški/; S  
/ašiški/; P /āsəsko/, but /asósko/ 'it is muddy',  
[asəskiw].

## 51. CLOUD

- (a) /a·rahkwat/, pl. /a·rahkwatas/ 'clouds'.  
(b) arrokoth 'sky' (H2), arahgwotuwss 'clouds' (H4)  
(c) PA /\*a·laxkwatwi/ (II) 'it is a cloud, it is cloudy';  
F /nekwa·nahkwatwi/ 'it is overcast, the clouds  
lie low'; C /yikwaskwan/ 'it is overcast', as in  
F from PA root /\*lekw-/ 'bury, cover under' (F  
/nekw-/; C /yikw-/; O /nikw-/; S /lekw-/);  
M /a·nahkwat/ (II) 'there is a cloud', also noun  
'cloud', pl. /a·nahkwaton/; O /nikwakkwat/ 'the  
sky is buried in clouds, it is overcast', /a·nakkwat/  
'cloud', pl. /a·nakkwato·n/; Mi /a·lahkwatwi/  
'it is cloudy'; Ps /alohkət/ 'it is cloudy'.

The primary PA form appears to be /\*waxkwiwi/  
'cloud'; C /waskow/, pl. /waskowa/; northern  
O /wahkwi/ 'cloud' (Rogers 1963, p. 154); Cheyenne  
/woʔe/; from which is derived the prevalent de-  
verbal PA /\*-axkw-/ 'cloud, sky'; F /-ahkw-/;  
C /-askw-/; M /-ahkw-/ (see Bl. 1962, Menomini  
Lang. 18.149); O /akkw-/.



Some languages however reflect initial short vowel forms followed by the variant PA /\*-exkw-/ 'cloud, sky'; F /menehkwatwi/ 'cloud', pl. /menehkwato·ni/; S /menʔkwatwi/ 'sky'; Mi /alihkwatwi/ 'cloud', pl. /alihkwatwa/; Arapaho /hónoʔ/ 'sky'; P /âlohk/ 'evening or night cloud', pl. /âlohkal/, beside /âhsohk/ 'daytime cloud', pl. /âhsohkal/, (II) /âhsohkat/ 'it is cloudy'.

## 52. COAL

- (a) /mahkate·s/ 'coal, ember'. See BLACK, entry 27.  
 (b) mahcateis 'coal of fire' (H6)  
 (c) PEA /\*maxkate·wi/ 'coal, ember'; mD /máhkate·w/. This is a formative of PA /\*maxkate·we·wi/ 'it is black' for which see entry 27. However, the two common terms for 'coal, ember, charcoal' formed from separate roots for 'black' are as follows:

PA /\*maxkanšye·wi/ 'coal, ember, charcoal'; M /mahka·hsiw/; P /mkàse/, pl. /mkàsal/, |mahkasay-|, dimin. /mkàses/ 'small ember or live coal', /mkàsehs/ 'charcoal, old or dead ember' (compare P /mkàsess/ 'crow'); Ms /mahkasa/, (Eliot mahkohsaash 'coals' Psalm 18:8). The noun final is PA /\*-anšye·w-i/ 'cinder, coal' which is found also in the following form.

PA /\*kaxkanšye·wi/ or /\*kaxkenšye·wi/ 'coal, ember, charcoal'; F /kahkeše·wi/; C /kaskase·w/; O /kakkanše·/ (also dialectic variants /akkakkanše·/, /kakkiše·/). The root is PA /\*kaxk-/ 'black', found in C /kaskite·wa·w/ (beside C /mahkate·wa·w/) 'it is black'; P (coastal dialect) /káhkakohs/ 'crow'.

## 53. COAT

- (a) /meskote·/ 'coat, matchcoat, robe, jerkin, mantle of fur', pl. /meskotas/. Probably a dependent noun,

'someone's coat'.

- (b) mautchkoot "coat, jerkin, doublet" (H4),  
matchkote "stag skin" (H10), matchcores (mis-  
 print for matchcotas?) "skins or garments" (Smith).  
 Strachey's recording was probably influenced by  
 the English loan matchcoat, perhaps a Chesapeake  
 trade jargon term. At least match coate is re-  
 corded as early as 1638 in the Maryland Archives  
 (IV, 30, 1). Ojibwa /mačiko·te·/ 'petticoat,  
 skirt' is not related and not the source of English  
matchcoat as has been often stated.
- (c) PA /\*-θkoθayi/ 'coat, jerkin, mantle or robe of  
 fur', dependent noun; C /-skota·kay/ reshaped  
 (?); M /-hkoney-/ 'robe' (Bl. 1962, Menomini  
 Lang. 18.168); O /-kkonay-/ 'robe' as in O  
 /wikkonaye·/ 'he has a robe', /okkona·ss/ 'his  
 blanket, robe; peel of fruit', /nikkona·ss/ 'my  
 blanket, robe'.

54. CODFISH

- (a) /ota·kome·k/  
 (b) vttacomaik "codfish" (H4)  
 (c) Pseudo-PEA /\*weθa·kwame·kwa/ 'evening fish',  
 as if from PA /\*weθa·kw-/ 'evening' and  
 /\*-ame·kw-a/ 'fish'.

55. COME

- (a) /nepya·m/ 'I come', /nepya·m se·p/ 'I will  
 come tomorrow', /ota kepya·m/ 'you (sing.) come  
 here', /pe·w/ 'he comes', /oski-pe·w/ 'he  
 comes quickly' (AI indicative).  
 /pya·k/ 'come ye!', /oski-pya·k/ 'come ye  
 quickly!' (2 person pl. AI imper.)  
 /pya·č/ 'let him come', /na·ntake· pya·č/  
 'if only he would come, would that he come' (3  
 person sg. injunctive). See ONLY, entry 144.  
 /pe·to·w/ 'he brings' (objectless-TI indicative).
- (b) neihpŷahm sab "I will come tomorrow" (H8),  
vske-pewh "come quickly" (H4), ota-cpŷam

"come again or we will come again" (H4)

pŷak "come, being spoken from afar off to one"

(H4), vske-pŷak "come quickly" (H4)

naantucah pyautch "come again" (H4)

patow "bring again" (H3)

- (c) PA root /\*py-/ , (AI) /\*pya.-/ , extended root /\*pye.t-/ 'hither' (B146). Some languages (for example Penobscot) use only the extended root form.

PA /\*nepya/ 'I come'; F /nepya/; M /nepiam/; S /nipiya/; uD /mpa/ , mD /mpa.m/; Mh /npa/; Ms /nəpəyam/ , (Eliot nuppeam , nuppeyam John 5:43, 9:39, 10:10, 12:46).

PA /\*pye.wa/ 'he comes' (B146); F /pye.wa/; M /pi.w/; S /piye.wa/; Mi /pi.wa/; D /pe.w/; Mh /paw/; Ms and Np /pəyaw/ , (Eliot peyau John 11:20, 28, 38; peyaog "they come" John 11:48, 20:3; Np pia8oc "they come" Mathevet p. 65).

PA /\*pya.kwa/ 'come ye!' (2 person pl. AI imper.); F /pya.ko/; S /piya.ko/; Np /pəyakwa/ , (Mathevet piang8a "venez icy!" p. 19).

PA /\*pya.čye/ 'let him come' (3 person sg. injunctive); F /pya.če/.

PA /\*pye.ta.wa/ 'he brings it' (TI indicative); F /pye.to.wa/ reshaped; C /pe.ta.w/; M /pi.ta.w/; S /piye.to/.

56. COME FROM  
THERE

- (a) /ta.n nowa.m/ 'Where does he come from?' ,  
/ta.n kenowa.m/ 'From where do you come?' ,  
/ni.r nenowa.m/ 'I come from there'.
- (b) near nowwaṁ "I have been" (H7), tan nowaam  
"Where have you been?" (H15) (with omission of  
pronominal prefix).
- (c) PA /\*nowawemwa/ and /\*wemwa/ 'he comes from  
there' is an irregular and polymorphic verb, and  
with the irregular contraction of /\*-awe-/ to

/\*-a.-/ and /\*-o.-/ (for which see Bl. 1946, Section 19, p. 92), there are /\*nowa·mwa/ and /\*nowo·mwa/ as early contracted forms. Compare F /nowi·wa/ 'he goes outside'.

From contracted PA /\*nowa·mwa/ derives Powhatan /nowa·m/ 'he comes from there'.

From PA /\*wemwa/ are D /wəm/; Ms /om/, (Eliot oom "he comes out" Acts 28:3); Np /om/, (Mathevet 8m "il vient de" p. 18); PA /\*wemwaki/ 'they come from there', D /mo·k/, Ms and Np /omak/, (Mathevet 8mak p. 18); PA /\*neweme/ 'I come from there', D /no·m/, and Ms and Np /nom/, (Mathevet n8m "je viens de" pp. 18, 21).

From PA /\*nowo·mwa/ by contraction is S /no·mwa/ 'he comes from there', but in the first person sg. S /nimo·me/ 'I come from there' is formed by dissimilation for expected Shawnee /\*nino·me/. However, the Shawnee subjunctive forms are from the short PA form /\*wemwa/ and not /\*nowawemwa/. Thus there is S /we·meya/ 'where I come from' and /we·meki/ 'where he came from'.

57. COPPER (1)

- (a) /osa·wa·ss/ 'brass, copper'.
- (b) osawas "brass" (H3)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*wesa·wa·nθakwi/, reflected in northern PEA as /\*wi·sa·wa·nθakwi/ 'copper' (see YELLOW, entry 251); P /wisáwahlak<sup>w</sup>/ 'copper, brass', [wisaw-ahl-akw]. The medial and final PA /\*-a·nθ-/ 'flint, ore, mineral, unsmelted metal' is the deverbal of PA /\*ma·nθ-/ 'chert, flint' found in PA /\*ma·nθehsi/ 'flint knife' (F /ma·tesi/, pl. /ma·tesani/; S /ma·neʔθi/, pl. /ma·nʔθali/; mD /máhləs/; compare P /màhsihpsk<sup>w</sup>/ 'chert, flint', [màhsihpəskw] with /hs/ for /hl/ before /i/

as a residue of the alternation /\*θ/:/\*š/). PA /\*-a.nθ-/ is found as O /-a.n-/ , P |-ahl-| , and Powhatan /-a.ss-/ , usually appearing with the abstract noun final /\*-akw-i/. Thus, PA /\*-a.nθakw-i/ 'flint, mineral, unsmelted metal, ore', and in modern times 'metal'; appears in Ojibwa as /-a.nakw/ (O /pi.wa.nak/ 'flint', pl. /pi.wa.nako.k/), and Eastern and Western Abenaki as |-ahlakw| (P /wápahlak<sup>w</sup>/ 'silver', /álənahlak<sup>w</sup>/ 'iron'). The PA cluster /\*nθ/ has the reflexes F /t/, O /n/, P /hl/, mD /hl/, and Powhatan /ss/.

Omission of the abstract noun final /\*-akw-i/ in concurrent forms is not unusual in the Eastern Algonquian languages, found in Powhatan /-a.ss-/ from PA /\*-a.nθ-akwi/. Another example is PEA /\*-o.θakw-i/ 'watercraft' and PA /\*-o.θ-/ beside /\*-o.ši/ 'boat' found in P /ssànl/ 'raft' and /mósolak<sup>w</sup>/ 'moosehide coracle'.

## 58. COPPER (2)

- (a) /matassen/ 'copper'.
- (b) matassun "copper" (H4), matassin "copper" (Smith)
- (c) Pseudo-PEA, from pseudo-PA /\*matwa?senyi/ from PA root /\*matw-/ 'uneven, jagged', and deverbal /\*-a?seny-i/ 'stone'. Compare mD /matasən/ 'pipe', perhaps originally a pipe of native copper or some other uneven ore or stone.

PA /\*matw-/ 'uneven, irregular, jagged' is found in P, C, and S; P /mátahpəsk<sup>w</sup>/ 'jagged rock, meteorite', /mátekən/ 'hide, skin'; C /mača.ča.w/ 'it is uneven ground', /mače.kin/ 'leather (for a tent)', Cree everywhere replacing /\*mat(w)-/ with /mač-/ which is homophonous with /mač-/ 'bad'; S /mate.wa.mi/ 'it is a rough river' (S permits cluster /tw/ however).

## 59. COUGH

- (a) (AI) /no·ssassom/ 'I cough', /ossassomo·w/ 'he coughs'.
- (b) nussacom 'bite' (H3), nussuccum 'cough' (H4)
- (c) PA root /\*wehθaʔθw-/ 'cough', PA /\*wehθaʔθwemwiwa/ 'he coughs'; C /ostastotam/ 'he coughs', by regressive assimilation for expected /\*ohtastotam/; O /ossassotam/; M /ohnɛ·ʔnomow/ with the same final as Powhatan, and the ancient variation /ɛ/ and /a/.

## 60. COVER

- (a) /kawassan/ 'cover, bottom skin of bed'.
- (b) cawassan 'covering to lay upon out' (H4)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*kawahθani/, derived from PA root /\*kaw-/ 'lie prostrate' (B146), medial PA /\*-ahθ-/ 'robe, pelt, skin' (F /-as-/; C /-aht-/; M /-ahn-/; S /-aʔθ-/; P /-ahs-/; mD /-ax-/), and abstract noun final /\*-an-i/.

The medial /\*-ahθ-/ is well attested in F /wa·pasaya/ 'white robe'; M /aska·hniy/ 'rawhide'; mD /askxay/ 'rawhide'; P /wəláhsewe/ 'he is well clothed, robed'. The noun root is the same.

PA /\*ahθaya/ AN 'robe, pelt, hide, skin'; F /asayi·hi/ dimin. 'buckskin'; C /ahtay/ 'skin', pl. /ahtayak/; S /aʔθaya/ AN; mD /xay/; Mh /xay/, /ntáxay/ 'my hide, skin'.

## 61. CRACK

- (a) /ta·tasse·w/ (II) 'it is cracked, torn, split'.
- (b) tatumsew 'a crack or (it is) cracked' (H4), with m as a writing error for s (?); tuttasewh 'rent or torn' (H12)
- (c) PA root /\*θa·θ-/ 'crack, rift, channel, crevice, fissure'; C /ta·t-/; S /la·l-/; P /nal-/; and extended root /nala-/ which can be considered a marked allomorph; Powhatan /ta·t-/. Supporting forms are found in C /ta·tase·ka·w/ 'there is a crack, fissure', /ta·tapayiw/ 'it

rends, tears', /ta·tapitam/ 'he rips, tears it';  
 S /la·lekwe·we/ 'he is ruptured', /la·loʔpeʔše/  
 'he has his ear lobes slit'; P /nálikən/ 'it is  
 split, grooved', /nálačəwan/ 'the current flows  
 in a channel, crevice', /nalápeke/ 'the water  
 forms a channel'.

## 62. CRUSH

- (a) /osekohamen/ or /osekwahamen/ (TI) 'he crushes  
 it by tool or instrument'.  
 (b) vshuccohomen "beat corn into meal" (H3),  
vssequahamun "smooth" (H13), vssequahamuñ  
 "rub a thing" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*šekwahamwa/ (TI absolute) 'he crushes it  
 by tool or instrument'; C /sikoham/ or /sikwaham/.  
 Root PA /\*šekw-/ 'crush', C /sikw-/; O /šikw-/  
 as in O /nišikoštikwane·ška/ 'I crush his head',  
 /ošikopito·n/ 'he crumbles it'; P /səkw-əsk-/  
 usually with postradical /-əsk-/.

## 63. CUT

- (a) /neki·skama·w/ 'I bite him through'.  
 (b) nekiskemuw "cut any thing" (H5)  
 (c) PA /\*neki·škama·wa/ 'I bite, gnaw him through'  
 (TA); F /neki·škama·wa/, C /niki·skama·w/,  
 M /neke·skamaw/, O /niki·škama·/.

## 64. CUT HAIR

- (a) /nemo·nsa·w/ (TA) 'I cut his hair', /kemo·nsa·w/  
 'you (sg.) cut his hair', /mo·nsa·kan/ 'scissors,  
 shears'.  
 (b) nummundgaw, cummundguw "cut the hair of a man's  
 head" (H5), moundgsacañ "shears" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*nemo·nšwa·wa/ (TA) 'I cut his hair'; C  
 /nimo·swa·w/; M /nemu·hsa·w/; O /nimo·nšwa·/;  
 P /nəmosa/.  
 Pseudo-PA /\*mo·nšwa·kani/ 'scissors, shears';  
 C /mo·swa·kan/; M /mo·hsokan/ or /mu·hswakan/;  
 O /mo·nšwa·kan/.

## 65. DANCE

- (a) /kenteke·w/ (AI) 'he dances'.  
 (b) kantekau "dance" (H9), kantikantie "sing and

dance" (H9), the latter probably a jargon term.

- (c) PEA /\*kenteke.wa/ (AI) 'he dances'; D /kántke.w/. The AI final is PA /\*-eke.-wa/ 'dance' as in PA /\*pemeke.wa/ 'he dances along, by'; F /pemeke.wa/, P /pəməke/.

## 66. DEAF

- (a) /kake.pehte.w/ (AI) 'he is deaf'.  
 (b) cappetaw "deaf" (H5), (first syllable probably missed by Strachey).  
 (c) PA /\*kakye.pehte.wa/ (AI) 'he is deaf', derived from PA root /\*kakye.p-/ 'impair, obstruct' and /\*-eht-/ 'ear'; C /kake.pihte.w/; M /kaki.pehtəw/. Other languages compound the same root with PA /\*-ehš-/ 'ear'.

PA /\*kakye.pehše.wa/ 'he is deaf'; F /kekye.peše.wa/; O /kaki.pišše./; S /kake.peʔše/; P /kákepse/, |kakepəhse|.

## 67. DOE

- (a) /no.nse.s/ 'doe, matron, female with young'.  
 (b) noungas "doe" (H5), noungass "wife" (H15)  
 (c) PA /\*no.nšye.swa/ 'doe, matron, female quadruped with young', derived from PA root /\*no.nšye.-/ 'have offspring, young' and the deverbial noun final PA /\*-osw-a/ 'quadruped' from PA noun /\*mo.swa/ 'moose' with vowel shortening in the deverbial as usual; O /no.nše.s/ 'doe, mare, female of moose, deer, elk, bison, caribou', pl. /no.nše.sok/; mD /nó.nše.w/ 'doe with young' without the deverbial final. Compare S /no.šeškata/ 'female with young, doe, matron'.

Compare PA /\*no.nšye.ʔəemwa/ 'bitch with young' (PA deverbial noun final /\*-aʔəemw-a/ 'dog'); C /no.se.stim/; M /nu.hsi.ʔnem/; O /no.nše.ssim/.

## 68. DOG

- (a) /atemoss/  
 (b) attemoys "dog" (H2), attemous "dog" (H5)  
 (c) PA /\*aəemwa/ 'dog' (Bl25, Lang. 1:142);



Kickapoo /anemwa/; F /anemo·ha/ dimin.; C /atim/; M /anɛ·m/; Ms /anəm/, (Eliot anum "dog" Proverbs 26:11; anumwog "dogs" Exodus 22:31). From this are derived a number of diminutives, Algonquian diminutives in general requiring further study.

PA /\*aθemwehša/ 'little dog'; O /animošš/, Powhatan /atemoss/.

PA /\*aθemwensa/ 'little dog'; O /animo·ns/, P /áləmosš/. The diminutive is PA /\*-ens-/, O /-ins/(see Bl. Eastern Ojibwa 11.58 where O /-ins/ and secondary /-e·ns/ after stems ending in /-w/ show vowel lengthening), P /-əss/.

## 69. DUNG

- (a) /mo·wi·č/ INAN.
- (b) moich "turd" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*mo·wi·čyi/ or /\*mo·wi/ INAN, 'dung, manure'; F /mo·wi·či/, /nemo·wi·či/ 'my dung'; O /mo·/, /nimo·wan/ pl. 'my droppings'; S /mo·wi/, pl. /mo·wali/; mD /mowi/; Ms /mowi/. There also is another PA term.

PA /\*mye·yi/ 'piece of dung, dropping', pl. /\*mye·yali/; C /me·yi/, pl. /me·yah/; M /mi·h/, pl. /mi·yan/.

## 70. DUST

- (a) /penkwi/ 'dust, ashes' INAN.
- (b) pungwe "ashes" (H2), pāgguy "ashes" (H11)
- (c) PA /\*penkwi/ 'dust, ashes, powder' INAN; F /pekwi/; C /pihko/; M /pehki·h/; O /pinkwi/; S /pekwi/; Mi /pinkwi/; P /pək<sup>w</sup>/; mD /ponkw/; Np /pəkwi/, (Mathevet peg8i "cendre" p. 57).

## 71. EAGLE

- (a) /a·patane·w/ 'adult bald eagle', pl. /a·patane·wak/
- (b) opatenaiok "eagle" (H5), (actually pl.)
- (c) PA /\*wa·paθanye·wa/ 'adult bald eagle' (i. e., "white tail"); S /wa·palanye/, /wa·palanyeʔθi/ dimin.; mD /wa·paláne·w/; uD /ɔ·p·alániye/. Compare S /mškwalanye/ 'red-tailed hawk or buteo'.

The derivation is PA root /*\*wa·p-*/ 'white', and the PA medial /*\*-aθany-*/ 'bird's tail'. The latter is a deverbal from the following dependent noun stem:

PA /*\*-aθanyi*/ 'bird tail', PA /*\*waθanyi*/ 'his (bird's) tail' INAN; C /*wataniy*, (/otaniy/ in some dialects); M /*wana·n*/, pl. /*wana·nyan*/; P /*wálanəss*/ 'his (bird's) tail' dimin.; Ms /*wanani*/, (Eliot wananeyeuash "their tails", Revelations 9:19).

## 72. EAR

- (a) /*mehtawak*/ 'someone's ear, an ear', /*wehtawak*/ 'his ear', /*wehtawakos*/ 'his ears'.  
 (b) meihtawk "ear of a man" (H5), weihtaws "ears of a hare or any other beast" (H5), metawke "ears" (H10)  
 (c) PA /*\*-htawakayi*/, PEA /*\*-htawakwi*/ 'ear' INAN dependent noun; PA /*\*wehtawakayi*/ 'his ear', F /*ohtawakayi*/, C /*ohtawakay*/, M /*ohta·wak*/, O /*ottawak*/; PEA /*\*wehtawakwi*/, P /*wtàwak<sup>w</sup>*/ (pl. /*wtáwakol*/), Mh /*wtawakw*/, Ms /*wihtawak*/ (Eliot wehtauog "his ear" Proverbs 18:15).

## 73. EARTHWORK

- (a) /*me·nesk*/ 'earthwork, intrenchment'.  
 (b) manausk "little stone" (H14)  
 (c) PA /*\*mye·neθki*/ 'earthwork, intrenchment'; C /*me·nisk*/; M /*mi·nehk-*/ in /*mi·nehkε·hkan*/ 'graveyard'; uD /*me·naxk*/ 'fort'; Nr /*omansk*/ 'his fort' (Roger Williams aumánsk "fort"; error for "his fort"); Ms /*mansk*/ or /*manəsk*/ (Eliot mansk "stronghold", oomanskash "his strongholds" Psalm 89:40; Mayhew manushk "stronghold", oomonushkumash "his strongholds" Psalm 89:40).

## 74. EAT

- (a) /*mi·tasso·w*/ (AI) 'he eats', /*nemi·či·n*/ (TI) 'I eat it', /*mi·či·s*/ 'eat (thou) it!' (2 person sg. imper.), /*mi·či·hkas*/ 'eat (thou) it then!' (2 person sg. delayed imperative).

- (b) All (H5): meches 'eat', nummechŷn 'I will eat' (error for 'I eat it, I will eat it'), meihtussuw 'eat with me' (error for 'he eats'), mechecusk 'I'll eat by and by' (error for 'eat thou it then, eat thou it by and by').
- (c) PA /\*mi·čyehswiwa/ 'he eats', C /mi·čiso·w/, M /me·čehsow/; but PEA /\*mi·tahswiwa/ (AI) 'he eats', P /mĩtso/ or archaistic style (used in formal speeches and myths) /mĩtahso/; mD /mi·tso/.
- PA /\*nemi·čyeni/ (TI) 'I eat it'; C /nimi·čín/ (/mi·čiw/ 'he eats it'); M /neme·čen/ (/mi·čwah/ 'he eats it'); O /nimi·čín/; P /nèmičín/; mD /nemi·či·n/.
- PA /\*mi·čyilwe/ (2 person sg. TI imperative); F /mi·čino/; C /mi·čiy/; M /me·čeh/; O /mi·čín/; S /mi·či·lo/; P /mĩčĩ/; mD /mĩ·čĩ·l/ 'eat thou it!'

The second person singular TI delayed or future imperative of Powhatan seems to have the suffixed inflection /-ehkas/, Cree /-ihkan/ (Swampy Cree form, generalized ?), and Ojibwa /-ikkan/.

PA /\*mi·čyehkalwe/ 'eat thou it by and by, later'; O /mi·čikkan/; Powhatan /mi·či·hkas/.

75. EGG

- (a) /wa·w/ 'egg', /owa·w/ 'his egg' INAN.
- (b) wouwh 'egg' (H5), owaugh 'egg' (H11)
- (c) PA /\*wa·wani/ 'egg', pl. /\*wa·wanali/; F /owa·wani/ 'egg', pl. /owa·wanani/ with prothetic vowel; C /wa·wi/, pl. /wa·wa/; Mt /wa·w/, pl. /wa·wač/ AN; M /wa·wan/, pl. /wa·wanon/; O /wa·wan/, pl. /wa·wano·n/; S /owa·wi/, pl. /owa·wali/ with prothetic vowel; Mi /wa·wi/, pl. /wa·wa/; P (and all EA dialects) /wàwan/, pl. /wáwanal/; mD /wa·hw/, pl. /wá·hwal/ and /wá·hwalal/; eastern SNE

languages spoken to the east of the Blackstone River have the morphophonemic form [wawan-] (Ms, Eliot wóóu, pl. wōanash, Cotton wou, pl. wowānash); Np and Pq /wam/, pl. Np /wamanas/, Pq /wámanš/ (Mathevet p. 23, 8am, pl. 8amanēs; Prince and Speck 1904, Amer. Anthropol. 6. 44, wā'mūnsh "eggs") (Nipmuck-Pocumtuck and Mohegan-Pequot, both western SNE languages, have morphophonemic [waman-] with /\*w/ replaced by /m/ by dissimilation, and retain final /n/ from PA /\*n/ which supports PA /\*wa·wani/, since PA /\*θ/ and /\*l/ fall together to Np /l/ and Pq /y/ respectively; in all SNE languages the singular of nouns with final syllables of short vowel plus sonorant regularly undergo apocope); Mh /wá·wan/, pl. /wá·wanan/.

Michelson (1935, IJAL 8. 134) and Goddard (1965, IJAL 31. 219) have attempted reconstructions of this form, both rather opaquely.

In some languages singular forms are short innovations and all such languages seem to fall into either a northern tier (C, Mt, and Algonkin) or into a southern tier (S, Mi, D, and Powhatan), suggesting that this modification was not historically connected but represented two parallel developments which resulted from the same conditioning factor. The source of the modification seems to be analogical contamination with PA /\*wa·hkwa/ 'fish egg, frog egg' (see ROE in this lexicon). In fact, the Munsee form /wa·hw/ is the exact phonological correspondent of /\*wa·hkwa/ in which D /h/ is the reflex of PA /\*hk/, and one dialect of Munsee went on to restructure the plural form as /wá·hwalal/ in a manner similar to the SNE languages.

Menomini and Ojibwa analogically reshaped the stem PA /\*wa.wan-/ to /wa.wanw-/, but otherwise all the central tier of languages, including conservative Fox, Menomini, Ojibwa, all Abenaki dialects, Mahican, and all SNE languages are in agreement and point to /\*wa.wani/ as the original lexeme. The shortened singular forms in the SNE languages are, of course, deceptive, but result from an apocope unrelated to the process of analogy to PA /\*wa.hkwa/ 'fish or frog egg'. It is noteworthy too that all Abenaki dialects and the l-dialect (Np) of the SNE group which regularly have /l/ for PA /\*θ/ and /\*l/ uniformly attest PA /\*wa.wan-/ and not /wa.wal-/. Borrowing from an n-dialect in this area, on the other hand, is relatively isolated as in the case of P /énik<sup>w</sup>əss/ 'ant' for expected /élik<sup>w</sup>əss/ which actually occurs in some Abenaki dialects (Caniba, etc.). Furthermore, collateral forms, for example P /mánawane/ 'he gathers, collects eggs' with deverbial /-awan-/, support the original cast of the morpheme with /n/.

## 76. ELBOW

- (a) /mi.skwan/ 'someone's elbow'.
- (b) meisquañ 'elbow' (H5)
- (c) PEA /\*-yeškwana/ 'elbow', AN dependent noun; PEA /\*wyeškwana/ 'elbow'; P /wəsk<sup>w</sup>an/, pl. /wəsk<sup>w</sup>anak/; uD /wi.skon/, pl. /wi.skonak/; Ms /wisk/ (Eliot weesk). In PA the presumed cluster /\*šk/ is discrepant.

## 77. ENTER

- (a) /pi.ntike.s/ 'come (thou) in!' (2 person sg. AI imperative), /pi.ntike.w/ 'he enters'.
- (b) peintikec 'come in' (H4)
- (c) PA /\*pi.ntwike.wa/ 'he enters a dwelling' (Bl46) AI; F /pi.tike.wa/; C /pi.htoke.w/; M /pi.htikew/; O /pi.ntike./; P /pítike/.

78. EXTINGUISH  
FIRE

- PA /\*pi.ntwike.lwe/ 'come (thou) in!' (2 person sg. AI imper.); F /pi.tike.no/; C /pi.htoke.y/; O /pi.ntike.n/; Mi /pi.ntiki.lo/; P /pitike'/.  
 (a) /a.htawe.hass po.kete.w/ 'put out the fire!' (2 person sg. TI imperative), /ota.hte.hamen/ 'he extinguishes it (fire, flame)' (TI).  
 (b) otawiaac bocetew "fire is out" (H6), vtahthamun "put out a candle" (H12)  
 (c) PA /\*a.ʔte.hamwa/ or /\*a.ʔtawe.hamwa/ 'he extinguishes it (fire, flame) by instrument or tool' (TI absolute); C /a.stawe.ham/; M /a.ʔtəham/; O /ota.tte.ʔa.n/ (TI objective). PA /\*a.ʔte.hanlwe/ or /\*a.ʔtawe.hanlwe/ 'put it (fire) out!' (2 person sg. imper. TI); C /a.stawe.hah/; M /a.ʔtəhah/; O /a.tte.ʔan/. Some languages (M, O) reflect the root /\*a.ʔt(e.)-/ 'extinguish fire' but others (C) follow this with the postradical /\*-awe.-/ which is identical with the final /\*-awe.-wa/ 'make fire'. Powhatan apparently has both types, or perhaps the two forms reflect a dialect difference within Powhatan. The root with and without postradical is manifest in other forms also.

PA /a.ʔte.wi/ or /\*a.ʔtawe.wi/ (II) 'it (fire) goes out, is extinguished'; C /a.stawe.w/; M /a.ʔtəw/; O /a.tte./; S /aʔte/.

PA /\*a.ʔte.škamwa/ or /\*a.ʔtawe.škamwa/ 'he extinguishes it (fire) by foot, he extinguishes fire by stepping on it'; (TI absolute in C and M, TI objective in O); C /a.stawe.skam/; M /a.ʔtə.skam/; O /ota.tte.ška.n/.

## 79. EYE

- (a) /meski.nsek/ 'someone's eye', pl. /meski.nsekwas/ 'eyes', /neski.nsek/ 'my eye' (dependent noun INAN).  
 (b) muskiendguk "eye" (H5), muskiendgues "eyes" (H5), muskins "eyes" (H10)

- (c) PA /\*-ški·nšekwi/ 'eye' INAN dependent noun (B146); PA /\*neški·nšekwi/ 'my eye'; F /neški·šekwi/; C /niski·sik/ and /miski·sik/ 'someone's eye'; M /neske·hsek/; O /niški·nšik/; S /nʔški·šekwi/; uD /néškinkw/; Mh /nski·skw/, pl. /nski·skwan/; Ms /nəskisək/ (Eliot nuskesuk). This has been reshaped (by dissimilation ?) in all Abenaki dialects, P /nsisək<sup>w</sup>/, pl. /nsisəkol/.

## 80. FATHER

- (a) /no·ss/ 'my father', /ko·ss/ 'thy father', (not attested but expected) /o·ssah/ 'his father'.  
 (b) nows "father" (H6), kowse "father" (H8)  
 (c) PA /\*-o·hθa/ 'father' (dependent noun), /\*no·hθa/ 'my father', PA /\*o·hθali/ 'his father' (B125, Lang. 1.152); F /no·sa/ 'my father', /o·sani/ 'his father'; C /no·hta·wiy/, /o·hta·wiya/ with reshaped ending; M /no·hneʔ/, /o·hnan/; O /no·ss/, /o·ssan/; S /noʔθa/, /oʔθali/; mD /no·x/, /ó·xwal/; Mh /no·x/, /ó·xan/.

## 81. FEATHER

- (a) /mi·kwan/ 'quill, long feather' AN, pl. /mi·kwanak/; /opi·we·/ 'short feather, plume, down feather, bristle' AN, pl. /opi·wak/  
 (b) meqwanoc "long feather" (H6), ahpewk "feathers" (H6), (both are pl. forms).  
 (c) PA /\*mi·kwana/ 'quill, long feather', pl. /\*mi·kwanaki/ AN in all languages; F /mi·kona/, pl. /mi·konaki/; C /mi·kwan/; M /me·kon/; O /mi·kwan/, pl. /mi·kwanak/; S /mi·kona/, pl. /mi·konaki/; Ms /mikwan/ (Eliot and Mayhew umméqunoh "his feathers" Psalm 91:4, 139:9); mD /mí·kwan/.

PA /\*wepi·waya/ 'plume, down or short feather, bristle', AN in all languages except C and O where INAN; F /opi·waya/, pl. /opi·wayaki/; C /opi·way/; M /ape·wə·way/ reshaped, compare /opə·wana·skən/ INAN 'plant down'; O /opi·way/ 'bristle, hair of

- fur', pl. /opi.wayan/; Mi /pi.wia/ 'feather',  
pl. /pi.wiaki/.
82. FEED, GIVE FOOD TO
- (a) /ketassames/ 'I feed thee, I give you (sg.) food',  
(not attested but expected) /netassama.w/ 'I feed  
him, give him food'.
- (b) cuttassamais 'beggar' (H3)
- (c) PA /\*ketahšameθe/ 'I feed thee, I give you food'  
(TA); F /ketašamene/; C /kitasamitin/; M  
/keta.hsamen/; O /kitaššamin/; S /kitšamele/  
with syncope of the first vowel of the TA stem  
/\*ahšam-/; P /kətáhsaməl/; Ms /kətassaməš/,  
(Eliot and Mayhew kuttassamush Psalm 145:15).  
PA /\*netahšama.wa/ (TA) 'I feed him'; F  
/netašama.wa/; C /nitasama.w/; M /neta.hsamaw/;  
O /nitaššama./; S /nitšama/; P /nətáhsama/.
83. FIRE
- (a) /po.kete.w/ 'fire'.
- (b) pokatawer 'fire' (Smith), boketawgh 'fire' (H2),  
bocuttaow, bocetew (H6), boketaw (H11), bocataoh  
(H14)
- (c) PEA /\*po.kete.wi/ 'fire'; Mc /pó.ktew/ 'fire';  
uD /pó.ktay/ 'firebrand', dimin. /pó.kte.s/;  
WA /pokwəta/ 'firebrand' (evidently analogically  
reshaped on the model of WA /skwəta/ 'fire');  
PA II reflexive /\*-ete.wi/ 'by heat' (B146).
84. FISH
- (a) /name.ss/ 'fish', pl. /name.ssak/
- (b) noughmass 'fish' (Smith), nammais 'fish' (H6),  
namaske, nameche 'fish of any kind' (H11)
- (c) PA /\*name.ʔsa/ 'fish' (B125, Lang. 1.142); F  
/name.sa/; C /name.s/ 'fish' (about James Bay),  
'small lake sturgeon' elsewhere; M /name.ʔs/;  
O /name./ 'sturgeon', pl. /name.wak/; S  
/nameʔθa/; P /nàmehs/; D (all dialects) /namé.s/;  
Mh /namás/; Ms /namas/, (Eliot namohsog  
'fishes' Exodus 7:18, 7:21).
85. FISH-HOOK
- (a) /mekohkan/



- (b) mowhkokañ 'fish-hook' (H10)  
 (c) PA /\*mekeçkani/ 'fish-hook'; Mt /mičihkin/;  
 O /mikiskan/, pl. /mikiskanan/; P /mèkihkan/,  
 pl. /mèkíhkanal/. Initial /\*me-/ is the indefinite  
 possessor prefix.

The Powhatan form /mekohkan/ has been analogically reshaped, as has the Menomini form /kohka·n/ 'fish-hook' without the indefinite possessor prefix, by analogy to PA /\*koxke·wa/ 'he angles, he fishes with a hook, he sets hooks for fish'; C /koske·w/ (also C /koskane·ya·piy/ 'fishing line'; M /kohke·w/; O /-kokke·/ in /ota·čikokke·/ 'he fishes with a hook', /ota·čikokkan/ 'fishing line with a hook'.

There is another Algonquian term: PA /\*wečkwani/ 'fish-hook'; Ms /ohkwan-aš/, (Eliot ukquonash 'fishhooks' Amos 4:2); Nr /ohkwan/ (Roger Williams hoquaùn 'hook', pl. hoquaûnash); M /kočkuan/ 'hook', analogical for expected /\*očkuan/ (M /kohke·w/ 'he angles, fishes with a hook'); uD /hók·ə·n/ 'hook'.

## 86. FLOUNDER

- (a) /ki·skess/ (?)  
 (b) keiskis 'plaice' (H12)  
 (c) The PA root is /\*ki·šk-/ 'remove part, cut off';  
 F /ki·šk-/; C /ki·sk-/; M /ke·sk-/; O /ki·šk-/;  
 S /kišk-/.

## 87. FLY

- (a) /awe·sse·w/ (A1) 'he flies'.  
 (b) awassew 'to fly' (H6)  
 (c) PEA /\*awe·hle·wa/ 'he flies' (PA /\*-?le·wa/ 'fly', B125, Lang. 1.149); P /áwehle/ 'hawk';  
 mD /awéhle·w/ 'hawk'; Ms /awassaw/, (Eliot  
 pl. owóhshaog 'hawks' Deuteron. 14:15).

## 88. FOAM

- (a) /pi·hte·w/ 'foam, froth'.  
 (b) peihteah 'froth' (H6), peihtaōh 'scum' (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*pi·?te·wi/ 'foam, froth'; F /pi·hte·wi/;

- C /pi·ste·w/; M /pe·ʔtəw/; O /pi·tte·/; S /piʔte/; P /pihte/; Ms /pihtaw/, (Eliot pehteau).
89. FOOT
- (a) /mesit/ 'someone's foot', pl. /mesitas/, /nesit/ 'my foot'.
- (b) messets "feet by a general name" (H6), messeate "foot" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*-siči/ 'foot' INAN dependent noun, pl. /\*-sitali/, /\*nesiči/ 'my foot', pl. /\*nesitali/ (Bl46); C /nisit/, /nisita/; M /nese·t/, /nese·tan/; O /nisit/, /nisitan/; S /niθiči/, /niθitali/; P /nəsit/, /nəsital/; Ms /nəsit/, (Eliot nusset 'my foot' Psalm 94:18).
90. FRIEND
- (a) /ni·ta·p/ probably a jargon term for proper /ni·ta·pe·w/ 'my fellow man, my friend', pl. /ni·ta·pe·wak/, given correctly by Strachey at (H8) and by Smith.
- (b) netab "friend" (H6), netab, netapewk "friend" (H8), netap "my dear friend" (H10), netab "word of greeting" (H15), netoppew "friend" (Smith)
- (c) PEA /\*ni·ta·pe·wa/ 'my fellow man, my friend'; formed from the PA dependent or pseudo-root /\*-i·t-/ (see Bl. Lang. 17.292-297; Bl46 Sec. 100, p. 119) 'fellow', and PA /\*-a·pe·w-a/ 'male, man'; P /nítape/; Ms and Nr /nitap/, (Nr nétop "my friend" Williams).
91. FROST
- (a) /takwaskwat/ (II) 'there is glazed frost on the ground or snow'.
- (b) tacqwacat "frost" (H6), (error for tacqwacqwat).
- (c) PA /\*takwaškwatwi/ (II) 'there is glazed frost or ice on the ground or snow'; M medial /-askw-/ 'ice, frost' in M /pi·wana·skiʔtan/ 'there is ice floating in the water' (see M. Lang. 15. 317); O /kaškwē·we·/ 'there is glazed frost on the ground' (Baraga p. 118 gives kaskwe·we· which is taken as an error); Mi /takwahkatwi/ 'it is frosting, there

is frost', by dissimilation for expected  
 /\*takwahkwatwi/, and PA /\*šk/ regularly gives  
 /hk/ in Miami; P /tákwask<sup>w</sup>at/ 'there is a crust  
 of ice on the snow or ground'. Compare Ms  
 /takwatən/, (Eliot togquodtin 'it is frozen'  
 Job 38:20).

The root is PA /\*takw-/ 'among or between  
 two particulars, together'; plus the medial PA  
 /\*-aškw-/ 'frost, ice' deverbal of root PA  
 /\*kaškw-/; and the II final PA /\*-atwi/ 'state,  
 condition'.

92. FULL OF FOOD (a) /ki.spo.w/ 'he is full of food', /neki.sp/ 'I  
 am full'.  
 (b) geispuu 'to be full' (H6), negeisp 'I am full'  
 (H6)  
 (c) PA /\*ki.špwiwa/ 'he is full of food, he has his  
 fill of food'; C /ki.spo.w/; uD /kí.spo/. The  
 root PA /\*ki.š-/ 'complete, finish' is com-  
 pounded without connective /\*-i-/ to the final  
 PA /\*-hpwi-/ 'eat'.

In F /ki.hpoče.wa/ 'his belly is full' and M  
 /ke.hpow/ 'he suffers from indigestion' the  
 /h/ has been analogically restored.

93. FUR (a) /wi.ssakan/ 'hair of fur', pl. /wi.ssakanas/  
 'fur'.  
 (b) wessacanoc 'fur of raccoon' (H6), weisacannac  
 'skin or fur of a hare' (H13)  
 (c) PEA /\*wi.hθakani/ 'hair of fur', pl. /\*wi.hθakanali/  
 'fur'; Ms /wissakanaš/, (Eliot weshaganash  
 'hairs' Exodus 25:4), from the following:  
 PA /\*wi.ʔəayi/ 'body hair, hair of fur', pl.  
 /\*wi.ʔəayali/ 'fur'; S /wiʔəaya/ 'body hair',  
 pl. /wiʔəayali/ 'body hairs, fur'; uD /wí.xa/  
 'body hair' AN, pl. /wí.xak/. M /we.ʔ/  
 'single hair of fur or body hair' INAN, pl.

/wε.ʔnan/, and M /wε.ʔsekan/ 'furs',  
 /wε.ʔnasikwan/ 'fur coat' have the first vowel  
 modified by analogy to M /we.nεʔ/ 'his single  
 hair of head'. The latter represents:

PA /\*-i.θeʔši/ 'single hair of head' INAN  
 dependent noun, pl. /\*-i.θeʔθali/ 'head hairs';  
 PA /\*mi.θeʔθali/ pl. 'human head hair, some-  
 one's head hairs', F /mi.nesani/, M /me.nεʔnan/.  
 PA first person possessed plural /\*ni.θeʔθali/  
 'my head hair'; F /ni.nesani/; M /ne.nεʔnan/;  
 O /ni.nississan/ dimin.; S /ni.leʔθa/, sg.  
 /ni.leʔθi/.

## 94. GILL

- (a) /oski.k/ or /weski.k/ 'gill' INAN, pl.  
 /oski.kwas/ or /weski.kwas/ 'gills', really  
 'his (fish's) gills'.  
 (b) woskeqwas "gills of a sturgeon or any other fish"  
 (H7)  
 (c) PA /\*weçki.kwi/ 'his (fish's) gill' INAN de-  
 pendent noun; C /ohki.k/; M /ohke.k/, pl.  
 /ohke.kon/.

## 95. GNAT

- (a) /penkwess/ 'gnat' dimin.  
 (b) poengwus "gnat" (H7)  
 (c) PA /\*penkwehša/ dimin. of /\*penkwa/ 'buffalo  
 gnat' or 'black fly' (genus Similium), not the  
 'sand fly' (genus Phlebotomus); C /pihkos/;  
 M /pehko.hsəh/ with supra-added dimin.;  
 O /pinkošš/, pl. /pinkoššak/; mD /ponkwəs/.

## 96. GO OFF

- (a) /nema.ča./ 'I go away, go off'; /kema.ča./ 'you  
 (sg.) go away'; /ma.či.w/ 'he starts off, goes  
 away'.  
 (b) nummacha "I will go home" (H7, H8 and H16),  
cumacha "Will you go home?"  
 (c) PA /\*ma.čyi.wa/ 'he goes away, starts off'  
 (Bl25, Lang. l. 144); /\*nema.čya/ 'I go away,  
 start off'; F /nema.čya/; M /nema.čiam/;

O /nima·č̣a·/; P /nə́mač̣i/; mD /nə́má·č̣i/.

Powhatan has analogic /-a·/ like Ojibwa. The alternation is /\*ya·/ : /\*yi·/ before /\*w·/.

97. GOOSE (1) (a) /a·piki·ra·hk/ 'snow goose' (genus Chen).  
 (b) opykerough 'brant, a fowl like a goose' (H11)  
 (c) PEA /\*wa·piki·la·hkwa/ 'snow goose'; P  
 /wapíkilahk<sup>w</sup>/, |wap-i-kil-ahkw|.
98. GOOSE (2) (a) /kaha·k/ 'Canada goose' (Branta canadensis L.),  
 pl. /kaha·kak/  
 (b) kahaugoc 'goose' (H7), actually pl.; kahauge  
 'goose' (H9)  
 (c) This term, probably onomatopoeitic from the bird's  
 call, was used from North Carolina to southern  
 New England. Compare uD /kha·k/, pl.  
 /kha·kak/; Np (Mathevet p. 46, kank, pl. kankak  
 'outarde').
99. GOURD (a) /pe·me·sk/ 'gourd'.  
 (b) pamyack 'gourd' (H11)  
 (c) PA /\*pe·me·θkwi/(?) 'gourd'; M deverbial  
 /-ε·mėhkwa-/ 'pulp, gourd' (see M. Lang. 18.157),  
 as in M /wi·nε·mėhkwan/ INAN 'squash',  
 /aski·mėhkwan/ 'watermelon'.
100. GROUNDNUT (a) /ohpen/ 'groundnut, Indian potato, tuber' AN  
 (Apios americana), pl. /ohpenak/.  
 (b) ouhpunnauk 'groundnut' (H7), (actually pl.).  
 (c) PA /\*wexpenya/ 'groundnut' AN, pl. /\*wexpenyaki/;  
 F /ahpenya/, pl. /ahpenye·ki/; M /ohpɛn/, pl.  
 /ohpɛ·nyak/; O /oppin/, pl. /oppini·k/,  
 /nito·ppini·mak/ 'my potatoes'; S /oʔpenya/,  
 pl. /oʔpenye·ki/, /noʔpenye·ma/ 'my potatoes';  
 uD /hópəni·s/ dimin.; P /ppən/, pl. /ppənək/,  
 /nətəhpənək/ 'my groundnuts', /nətəhpənimak/  
 'my testicles'.
101. GULL (a) /kaya·hkwess/ 'herring gull' dimin.  
 (b) coiahgwus 'gull' (H7)

- (c) PA /\*kaya·škwa/, /\*keya·škwa/ 'herring gull' which reflects the ancient variation of /\*a://\*e/; F /akaya·škwa/ with prothetic vowel; C /kiya·sk/; Mt /čiya·škw/; O /kaya·šk/; Mi /kiya·hkwa/ in which Mi /hk/ is the regular reflex of /\*šk/. This term was analogically reshaped in PEA and separately in some individual noneastern languages after the PA period by analogy to other bird names in /\*-a·hkw-a/. For example, there are PA /\*wetečya·hkwa/ 'crane' (genus Grus, two species); F /oteča·hkwa/; C /očiča·hk/; Mt /očiča·hkw/ 'great blue heron' with semantic change, since out of range of cranes; M /otε·čiah/, pl. /otε·čiahkok/; O /očiča·kk/; and PEA /\*wa·piki·la·hkwa/ 'snow goose' (genus Chen).

PEA /\*kaya·hkwa/ 'herring gull'; Powhatan /kaya·hkw-/; Chowan /kaya·hk/, (John White, Roanoke Island 1585, kaiauk "gull"); pre-Abenaki and one EA dialect (Sokoki-Pequaket ?) /kayahk<sup>w</sup>/, (Rasles ms. p. 23 kaia·k8); P /kahk<sup>w</sup>/, pl. /kàhk<sup>w</sup>ak/ with contraction /-aya-/ > /-a-/, [kayahkw]. The same analogical change is found in M /kaya·h/, pl. /kaya·hkok/; S /kayaʔko·θa/ dimin.

## 102. GUM

- (a) /pekiw/ 'gum, resin, pitch'.  
 (b) pickewh "gum that issueth out of a certain tree called the Virginia maple" (H7), pickuts "gum we hold balsam" (H12)  
 (c) PA /\*pekiwa/ 'gum, pitch, resin', AN in all languages; F /pekiwa/; C /pikiw/; M /peke·w/; O /pikiw/; P /pəko/, pl. /pəkawak/, [pəkiw]; Np /pəčo/, (Mathevet pech8 "gomme" p. 22); Ms /pəto/, (Mayhew pittu "wax" Psalm 68:2).

PA /\*k/ before /\*i/ and /\*e./ is fronted to alveolar /t/ in the eastern group of SNE dialects

spoken to the east of the Blackstone River, but in the western SNE languages including those spoken on Long Island this sound change proceeded further and was both fronted and affricated to /č/. However, there are some irregularities, for example, Ms /ahtihkanət/ 'in the field' (Eliot ohteakonit First Chron. 1:46), P |ahkihkanək|, and Ms /ahkihtaw/ 'he plants him' TA absolute (Eliot ohketeau Isaiah 44:14), and Ms /wito/ 'house' (Eliot wetu) and /wik/ 'his house' (Eliot week, Mayhew wék John 4:53). The latter is PA /\*wi.ki/ 'his house, dwelling'; F /owi.ki/, C /wi.ki/, M /we.k/, Ms /wik/.

## 103. HAIR

- (a) /ni.tess/ 'my single hair of head'. See FUR
- (b) netesse "hair of the head" (H7)
- (c) PA /\*-i.θeʔši/ 'single hair of head' INAN dependent noun, pl. /\*-i.θeʔθali/, PA /\*ni.θeʔši/ 'my single hair of head'; M /ne.nɛʔ/, pl. /ne.nɛʔnan/; O /ni.nissis/; S /ni.leʔθi/.  
Compare PA /\*wi.ši/ 'his head', F /owi.ši/, M /we.s/, S /wi.ši/.

## 104. HAND

- (a) /metenč/ 'a hand, someone's hand', /netenč/ 'my hand', /otenč/ 'his hand', pl. /otenči.s/ 'his hands'.
- (b) meihtinge "a hand" (H7), metenge "a hand" (H10), ohtindge "claw of a crab" (H4) (i.e. 'his hand'), oteingeis "feet of a hawk" (H6), (i.e. 'his hands').
- (c) PA /\*-θenčyi/ 'hand, finger' INAN dependent noun, pl. /\*-θenčyali/; (B125, Lang. 1.145, /\*-θšenčye.-/ 'hand, finger' later corrected to /\*-θenčy-/); PA /\*weθenčyi/ 'his hand'; C /očihčiy/; O /oninč/, pl. /oninči.n/; P /wələči/; PA /\*meθenčyi/ 'someone's hand', C /mičihčiy/.  
PA /\*neθenčyi/ 'my hand'; C /ničihčiy/;

O /nininč/, pl. /nininči.n/; S /nileči/ 'my finger', pl. /nilečali/, and S /nileča/ 'my hand', pl. /nileče.ki/; P /nèlèči/ 'my finger', pl. /nèlèčəyal/.

## 105. HAVE

- (a) /netayi.n/ (TI) 'I have it', /netayi.wa.w/ (TA) 'I have him', /mata netayi.wa.w/ (TA) 'I do not have him', /netayi.na/ (TI, INAN pl. object) 'I have them'.
- (b) netainwh "have" (H7), natayhough "I have it" (H11) error for "I have him", matta natiayyough "I have it not" (H10), error for "I do not have him", ntayeina "I have it not" (H10), error for "I have them" (INAN pl.)
- (c) PA /\*netayi.wa.wa/ (TA) 'I have him'; C /nitaya.wa.w/; O /nitaya.wa./; P /nètayəwa/, [netayiwə]; Powhatan /netayi.wa.w/.

The Proto-Algonquian alternation /\*ya./: /\*yi./ before /\*w/ has been leveled out in Cree and Ojibwa. For other examples of the alternation see GO OFF (entry 96) and SHARP (entry 182).

PA /\*netaya.ni/ (TI, class 3) 'I have it'; C /nitaya.n/; O /nitaya.n/; P /nètayin/; Powhatan /netayi.n/. Penobscot and Powhatan have stabilized the alternation, analogically extending the alternant /\*yi./ before other sonorants besides /\*w/.

The theoretical simplex root PA /\*ay-/ 'be there, exist, abide, remain, stay' appears only as the extended root PA /\*aya.-/, and this assumes also the form of a TI stem in identity, forming TI verbs by the direct addition of the TI inflectional suffix /\*-en-/. A TA stem is formed by appending the TA final /\*-w-/ to the extended root, rendering with alternation the TA stem /\*ayi.w-/ which is then followed by a TA



inflection. Thus the TA absolute form is PA /*\*ayi·we·wa*/ 'he has him'; C /*aya·we·w*/ with the alternation leveled out; O /*otaya·wa·n*/ in TA objective form. Both transitive stems entail some change of meaning to 'have there, possess, remain in possession', illustrated in the forms above.

It should be noted that in Fox and Menomini the extended root PA /*\*aya·-*/, modified by stabilization of the alternation (as in Penobscot and Powhatan), has been further reshaped as F /*awi·-*/ and M /*a·we·-*/, perhaps by analogical contamination with the PA root /*\*aw·-*/ and its extended form /*\*awe·-*/ 'use'; F /*awe·wa*/ 'he uses him'; M /*awε·w*/ 'he uses him' and M /*a·w*/ 'he uses it'; O /*otawa·n*/ 'he uses him'; P /*awe·-*/.

Intransitive stems (AI and II) also are projected from the extended PA root /*\*aya·-*/ by directly appending, subject to alternation, the intransitive endings, as is shown in the following:

PA /*\*ayi·wa*/ (AI) 'he exists, is there, he abides, remains, stays'; F /*awi·wa*/; C /*aya·w*/ with alternation leveled out; M /*a·wew*/ 'he is so-and-so'; O /*aya·*/ with analogic /*a·*/ as in O /*ma·ča·*/ 'he starts off, goes away', although some O dialects (Baraga's) have /*awi·*/ which may be a loan from Fox; P /*áyo*/, /*áyiw*/.

PA /*\*ayi·wi*/ (II) 'it exists, is there, it remains'; C /*aya·w*/ with alternation leveled out; M /*a·wew*/ 'it is so-and-so, such-and-such'; O /*aya·*/; P /*áyo*/, /*áyiw*/ . Only Penobscot distinguishes the AI and II forms, reflecting the original contrast of /*\*ayi·wa*/ : /*\*ayi·wi*/ by accent differentiation.

There is also PA /\*aya·mekatwi/ (II) 'it exists, remains', formed by adding the II final /\*-mekatwi/ to either AI or II stems; F /awi·mekatwi/; M /a·wemakat/ 'it is so-and-so'; O /aya·makat/.

## 106. HEAR

- (a) /nenō·ntamen/ (TI) 'I hear it'; /mata nenō·ntamen/ 'I do not hear it'. See SEE, entry 178.  
 (b) nōwnuntamen "hear" (H8), mata nōwnontamen "not to hear" (H8)  
 (c) PA /\*nō·ntamwa/ 'he hears it' (B146); PA /\*nenō·nta/ 'I hear it' (TI absolute), F /nenō·ta/; PA /\*nenō·nta·ni/ 'I hear it' (TI objective), M /nenō·hta·n/, O /nino·nta·n/.

PEA /\*nenō·ntameni/ 'I hear it', P /nənōtamən/, Powhatan /nenō·ntamen/.

## 107. HERON

- (a) /assak/ 'great blue heron' (genus Ardea); /wa·passak/ 'great white heron' (also genus Ardea), or perhaps and less likely the 'egret' (genus Casmerodius).

The great white heron formerly occurred north to Chesapeake Bay, but is now confined to southern Florida.

- (b) ussac "crane" (H4), wopussouc "swan" (H14)  
 (c) PA /\*šaʔšakiwa/ 'great blue heron' (genus Ardea); C (Swampy Cree only) /sasakiw/; M /saʔsakew/ (Menomini Lang. has /saʔsakew/ at 14.154, 368 and 20.15, but only /sāʔsakiw/ uniformly appears several times in the Menomini Texts, pp. 494-496, which is certainly phonemic /saʔsakew/); O /šaššaki/, pl. /šaššakiwak/; Ms /sassat/, (Eliot sassadt "crane" Isaiah 38:14); Powhatan /assak/. For PA /\*k/ > Ms /t/ see under GUM, entry 102.

PA /\*wa·paʔšakiwa/ 'great white heron', perhaps 'egret' also; M /wa·pahsa·ke·w/

'white heron' (personal name, with foreign /hs/ for standard Menomini /ʔs/, and with error of the last vowel ?); Powhatan /wa·passak/. Strachey's meaning 'swan' is certainly wrong.

## 108. HIGH

- (a) /aspe·w/ (II) 'it is high'
- (b) uspeuwh 'above' (H2)
- (c) PA /\*ešpe·wi/ (II) 'it is high'; (Bl25, Lang. 1.150 gives root PA /\*išp-/ 'above, high', revised to /\*ešp-/ Bl46, Sections 8, 101); C /ispa·w/; O /išpa·/; Powhatan /aspe·w/. For the alternation of PA /\*a·/ : /\*e·/ before /\*w/, leveled out in Cree and Ojibwa, see Bl. 46, Section 35, p. 98.

## 109. HOMINY

- (a) /apohomin/ 'grain of parched corn' INAN, pl. /apohominas, apohomins/ 'hominy'.
- (b) aphohomins 'whelpes' (H15)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*apwawemina/ AN 'grain of parched maize'; root PA /\*apw-/ 'heat', /\*-ahw-/ TA instrumental 'by tool or medium' (see Bl. 46, Section 84, p. 114), /\*-min-/ deverbal noun final 'drupe, grain, berry'.

## 110. HORN

- (a) /wi·wi·r/ 'horn, antler' AN, pl. /wi·wi·rak/
- (b) wawirak 'horns of a deer' (H8), (I assume this to be a writing error for wewirak).
- (c) PA /\*-i·wi·la/ AN dependent noun, pl. /\*-i·wi·laki/; PA /\*wi·wi·la/ 'a horn', and restructured as nondependent in some languages; F /owi·wi·na/ 'horn', pl. /owi·wi·naki/, /owi·wi·nani/ 'his horn', /ni·wi·na/ 'my horn'; M /ne·wen/ 'my horn', /we·wenan/ 'his horn(s)', AN dependent noun; S /wi·wi·la/ 'horn', but as a deverbal /kaškwilaki/ 'sharp horns' (S /-iwila/ AN); Mi /awi·wi·la/ 'horn', pl. /awi·wi·laki/; mD /wi·lá·wan/ 'horn' (reshaped); EA (except Penobscot) /áwiwil/ 'horn, antler' AN, pl. /awíwilak/, but

/wətaʔiʔilal/ or /wətaʔiʔiləmal/ 'his horn'  
 (P has this morpheme only in /wiʔiʔəyamek<sup>W</sup>/ 'snail'); Ms (Nauset dialect only) /wiwin/ 'horn',  
 (Cotton weween "horn", but not in Eliot or Mayhew).

There is also: PEA /\*wešəməwa/ 'antler, horn'; uD /wšəmo/, pl. /wšəməwak/; P /wəsəmo/, pl. /wəsəməwak/, |wəsəməw-|.

111. HOT (a) /apete.w/ (II) 'it is hot, warm'; /apete.w apo.n/ 'the bread is hot'. This shows that /apo.n/ is INAN in Powhatan.  
 (b) apetawh poan "broil or toast bread" (H3)  
 (c) PA /\*apwete.wi/ (II) 'it is hot, warm'; M /apɛ.tɛ.w/; P /əpəte/; Powhatan /apete.w/.
112. HOUSE (a) /yi.ha.kə.n/ (?) 'house'  
 (b) yehacan "house" (H8), yeahaukan "house" (H16), yehawkans "houses" (Smith)  
 (c) Compare Nanticoke /ya.ha.k/ (?) (Heckewelder iahack "house"); uD /ya.k.á.ən/ 'shade house'.
113. ISLAND (a) /menenak/ 'island', pl. /menenakos/  
 (b) mennunnakgus "island" (H8); actually pl.  
 (c) Pseudo-PEA /\*menenakwi/ 'island'; PA root /\*men-/ 'mass, pile', and PEA noun final /\*-enakw-i/ 'island'; P /kɪnənak<sup>W</sup>/ 'large island', /mətənənak<sup>W</sup>/ 'mountain island', |-ənakw|; reshaped (?) in Cree as /-a.nak(w)/, C /awasa.nak/ 'the other side of the island', /iskwa.naka.w/ (II) 'the island is so long'.  
 The usual PA term is:  
 PA /\*menehsi/ 'island'; F /menesi/, pl. /menesani/; M /menɛ.s/, pl. /menɛ.hsyan/, with analogical /y/ (?); O /miniss/, pl. /minissan/; S /meneʔəi/, pl. /meneʔəi.wali/.
114. KINDLE (a) /mato.tam/ (Class I, objectless-TI) 'he kindles a fire'.

- (b) matowtam 'burn as if a spark light on anything' (H3)
- (c) PA root /\*mato·t-/ 'strike fire, kindle' found without sound change in F /mato·tešiwa/ 'he takes a steam bath'; C /mato·tisiw/; O /mato·to·/ 'he takes a steam bath', all with semantic specialization; P /mátotawe/ (AI) 'he kindles a fire' with root [matot-] and final [-awe] from PA /\*-awe·-wa/ 'make fire, make light'.
115. LEG
- (a) /meska·t/ 'someone's leg', /neska·t/ 'my leg'.
- (b) mescot 'leg' (H10)
- (c) PA /\*-xka·či/ 'leg' INAN dependent noun, pl. /\*-xka·tali/; PA /\*nexka·či/ 'my leg'; F /nehka·či/, pl. /nehka·tani/; C /niska·t/, pl. /niska·ta/; M /nehka·t/, pl. /nehka·tan/; O /nikka·t/, pl. /nikka·tan/; S /nka·či/, pl. /nka·tali/; P /nkat/, pl. /nkàtal/.
116. LIP
- (a) /neskese·/ 'my lip' INAN.
- (b) nusskaih 'lips' (H9), (actually sg.).
- (c) PA /\*-škešayi/ 'lip' INAN dependent noun; /\*neškešayi/ 'my lip'; C /niskisay/; Mt /niščišiy/; S /niškiša/, pl. /niškiša·wali/ 'my lips'.
117. LIZARD
- (a) /a·po·sse·ss/ dimin. 'slowworm', probably the 'slender glass lizard' (Ophisaurus attenuatus longicaudus).
- (b) apouscase 'slowworm' (H13)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*wa·po·hθe·hša/ dimin. 'little white worm'; root PA /\*wa·p-/ and deverbal /\*-o·hθe·wa/ 'worm', Powhatan /-o·sse·/ with PA dimin. final /\*-ehš-a/, Powhatan /-ess/. See WORM.
118. LONG
- (a) /kene·w/ (II) 'it is long'.
- (b) cunnaivwh 'long' (H9)

- (c) PA /\*kenwe.wi/ (II) 'it is long' (Bl46); C /kinwa.w/; M /keni.w/; O /kinwa./; S /kinwa.wi/. For the alternation of PA /\*a./: /\*e./ before /\*w/, leveled out in Cree, Ojibwa, and Shawnee, see Bl. 46, Sections 35, 75, pp. 98, 110.
119. LOON
- (a) /akwimess/ 'loon' dimin., or with syncope /akwims/
- (b) ockquims "watchet colored bird" (H11)
- (c) Ps /əkwím/ 'loon'; the Powhatan form as if from Pseudo-PEA /\*akwimehša/ dimin. 'loon', with PA dimin. /\*-ehša/. The PA root is /\*akwim-/ 'float motionless on or within the water'. PA /\*akwimowa/ 'he (waterfowl, fish, man in a canoe) floats motionless on or within the water'; C /akomow/; O /akomo/; P /ák<sup>w</sup>imo/.
120. LOST
- (a) /newaniss/ (AI) 'I am lost, I go astray', /wanisse.w/ 'he is lost'.
- (b) nowwanus "lost" (H9)
- (c) PA /\*wani?le.wa/ 'he is lost, he goes astray, he disappears'; F /wanise.wa/; C /wanihyow/ with reshaped ending; O /wanisse./ 'he makes a blunder'; P /wáníhle/.
121. LOUSE
- (a) /metahkem/ 'a louse, someone's louse', /netahkem/ 'my louse', /ketahkemi/ 'you (sg.) have lice'.
- (b) metacum "louse" (H9), cuttahcummeis "look one's head" (H9)
- (c) PA /\*ehkwa/ 'louse' (Bl46); F /ahkwa/; C /ihkwa/; M /ehkua/; O /ikkwa/; P /kkəm/ with syncope, and restructured from possessed forms. Fox /ihkwa/ given by Bloomfield does not exist.
- PA /\*netehkwema/ 'my louse' (Bl. /\*netehkoma/); F /neto.hkoma/; C /nitihkom/; M /netε.hkom/; O /nitikkom/; P /nətahkəm/.

PA /\*ehkwemiwa/ 'he has lice, is lousy';  
 P /kəkəmo/, [ahkəmiw]; rebuilt in C, M, and  
 O as /\*wetehkomiwa/ (B146). PA /\*netehkwemi/  
 'I have lice'; P /nətahkəmi/; Powhatan /netahkemi/;  
 O /nitotikkom/.

122. LOVE (a) /ko·wama·nes/ 'I love thee' (TA), /no·wama·tamen/  
 'I love it' (TI)  
 (b) cuwumonais "you love" (H8), nouwmais "I love  
 you" (?) (H8), nowamatamen "I must keep it or I  
 love it" (H8)  
 (c) PEA /\*ko·wama·neθe/ (?) 'I love thee'; Ms  
 /kowamanəš/ (Eliot koowomonsh, Cotton  
koowomonūsh, Mayhew koowomōnush, koowamonish);  
 Nr /kowamanəš/ (Williams cowāmmaunsh); but  
 Np /nowamala/ (?) 'I love him', (Mathevet pp.  
 11, 19 n8amanlan "je l'aime"). If recorded  
 correctly Powhatan and Np do not match.
123. MAN (a) /ni·mate·w/ 'man'.  
 (b) nematough (Smith; misprinted nemarough),  
nimatewh "man" (H10)  
 (c) PEA /\*ni·maθe·wa/ 'man'; Mh /ní·manaw/.
124. MARROW (a) wi·mp/ 'marrow'.  
 (b) wimpe "marrow" (H15), weimb "marrow of a bone"  
 (H10)  
 (c) PA /\*wi·mpikani/ 'bone marrow'; F /owi·pikani/  
 with prothetic vowel. Compare M /we·hpaham/  
 'he hollows it out', and O /wi·mpašk/ 'hollow  
 reed', pl. /wi·mpaško·n/; for PA root /\*wi·mp-/  
 'hollow'.
125. MAT (a) /ana·ska·n/ 'mat, rug'.  
 (b) anauson "mat" (H2), anausacoon "mat made of  
 reeds" (H10)  
 (c) PA /\*ana·xkani/ INAN 'mat, rug', but AN in S  
 and EA (including P); F /ana·hkani/, pl.  
 /ana·hkanani/; C /ana·ska·n/ INAN with PA

noun final /\*-a·n-/ rather than /\*-an-/ as in Powhatan; M /ana·hkyan/ INAN and reshaped by analogy to the verb form; O /ana·kkan/, pl. /ana·kkanan/; S /ana?ka/ 'pallet, mattress', pl. /ana?kanaki/; EA (except Penobscot) /ánahkan/, pl. /anáhkanak/, [anəhk-an]; P /ánehkan/ 'mat, rug, floor or bed of a canoe', pl. /anéhkanak/, reshaped by analogy to P root /anehk-/ in /anehkáyi/ 'in low position, below'; mD /aná·hkan/, pl. /aná·hkanal/.

PA /\*ana·xkye·wa/ 'he lays a mat, spreads a rug'; C /ana·ske·w/; M /ana·hkow/, reshaped by analogy to M /apa·hkow/ 'he thatches'; P /ánehke/ 'he lays a skin, rug or mat, spreads a quilt' (compare P /wəlánehke/ 'he makes, prepares a bed').

## 126. MEAL

- (a) /ro·hkahamen/ 'parched corn meal'.
- (b) rokohamin "parched corn ground small" (H12)
- (c) PEA /\*lo·xkahameni/, P /nòhkhāmən/ 'parched corn meal, flour', with syncope; compare Np /lohkik/ (Mathevet p. 22 l8kik "farine"); S /lokha·na/ 'flour'.

The root is PA /\*lo·xk-/ 'soft'; F /no·hk-/; C /yo·sk-/; M /no·hk-/; O /no·kk-/; P /nohk-/.

## 127. MEAT

- (a) /wi·ya·ss/ 'meat, flesh'.
- (b) oiawhs, wiaaws "lean of any flesh" (H9), weyaus "lean of any thing" (H15), weghshaugh "flesh" (Smith).
- (c) PA /\*wi·yawehsi/ 'meat, flesh'; F /owiya·si/, pl. /owiya·syē·ni/ (with prothetic vowel and ending analogically reshaped); C /wiya·s/; O /wi·ya·ss/; S /wiyaw?θi/, pl. /wiyaw?θi·wali/; P /wəyohs/, pl. /wəyohsal/, [wiyohs]; uD /wiyó·s/; Ms /wiyos/ (Eliot weyaus "flesh"



Exodus 29:32). This is a diminutive formative of the following:

PA /\*wi.yawi/ 'his body, flesh' (Bl46, p. 91);  
F /wiyaw/; C /wiyaw/; M /we.yaw/; O /wi.yaw/;  
S /wiyaw/.

## 128. MIRE

- (a) /passakwan/ 'mire, sticky mud'.
- (b) pussagwun 'clay' (H4)
- (c) PEA /\*pahsakwani/, /\*pehsakwani/ 'mire, mud';  
Ms /pæssakw/, pl. /pæssakwanaš/ (Mayhew  
pussogq 'dirt' Psalm 18:42; Mayhew pussogquanit  
'in the mire', Eliot pissogquánuhtu Psalm 69:2);  
Np /pæssakwa/, pl. /pæssakwanas/ (Mathevet  
p. 98 pissagša 'vasé, boué', pissagšan8h8 mai  
'chemin bourbeux').

The PA root is /\*pahsakw-/ 'sticky, muddy, miry' (or /\*pehsakw-/ assuming the cluster is /\*hs/ rather than /\*ʔs/ in the absence of a Menomini cognate), found in C /pasakwa.w/ (II) 'it is sticky', /pasakoče.sk/ 'mire'; O /passakwa.kami/ 'it is a thick, sticky liquid'; S /peθakwa/ 'it is sticky, muddy' (reshaped for expected S /\*peʔθakwa/).

## 129. MITTEN

- (a) /metenče.ss/ 'a glove, someone's mitten',  
/otenče.ss/ 'his glove, mitten', evidently INAN.  
See HAND, entry 104.
- (b) meteingeies 'fingers' (H6), oteingas 'glove' (H7),  
meteengass 'shooting glove' (H13)
- (c) PEA /\*meθenčye.nsa/ AN 'a glove, someone's  
mitten' with the indefinite possessor prefix  
/\*me-/; P /mələčess/ 'glove, mitten', pl.  
/mələčessak/; Np /mələčass/ (Mathevet p. 53  
melejas, pl. melejassak 'mitaine'). Powhatan  
/metenče.ss/ seems to be from an expected and  
earlier Powhatan /\*metenče.ns/ by progressive  
dissimilation, reinforced by the analogy of the

more numerous examples of diminutives with this suffixed form.

## 130. MORNING

- (a) /waspa·sa·hk/ (II) 'it is morning'.  
 (b) papasaw "morning or sunrise" (H10), paspasak  
uscautewh "the morning is fair" (H10); (hearing  
 error of initial p for w assumed).  
 (c) PEA /\*waθpa·sa·xkiwi/ (?) (II) 'it is morning';  
 P /spasáhko/, changed conjunct /wespasáhkiwik/  
 'when it is morning'.

The root is PA /\*waθpa·-/ or /\*weθpa·-/  
 'awake, rouse'; C /waspa·-/ as in (TA)  
 /waspa·we·me·w/ 'he wakes him by calling';  
 O /oppa·-/ as in /oppa·we·/ (AI) 'he keeps  
 people awake'; Nanticoke /wespa·/ 'morning'  
 (Heckewelder weschpa "morning").

## 131. MOTE IN EYE

- (a) /nepensen/ 'I have (dust, a mote, foreign body)  
 in my eye'.  
 (b) nepensun "dust" (H5)  
 (c) PA /\*nepensenli/ 'I have a mote or foreign body  
 in my eye'; M /nepɛ·sɛhnem/; C /nipisinin/;  
 O /nipinsin/; P /nɛpəssihli/ or with syncope  
 /nɛpəsli/ (both forms are used); (compare S  
 /nipeθena/ (TA) 'I throw dirt in his eye'; (AI)  
 S /nipeθene/ 'I have something in my eye').

PA /\*pensenliwa/ 'he has a foreign body in  
 his eye'; C (Swampy Cree) /pisiniw/; M  
 /pesɛ·hnew/ (Menomini Language 14. 47) re-  
 shaped for expected /\*pehsɛ·hnew/; O /pinsini/;  
 P /pəssihlo/, |pəssəhliw|.

For the de-aspiration and lenition of word  
 initial checked syllables in Menomini see  
 PERSIMMON (entry 153), and compare M /seko·h/  
 'weasel' for expected /\*sehko·h/, and M  
 /suasek/ 'eight' for expected /\*nɛʔsuasek/.  
 Some doubt exists concerning the length of the

first vowel in the Ojibwa form; I have assumed it is short, but if long it is by analogical contamination with /\*pi.nt-/ and assibilated /\*pi.ns-/ 'enter, inside'. In Penobscot /ss/ from |ss| but not from |hs| is the reflex of PA /\*ns/ following /\*e/ and /\*e./, as in PA /\*e.nsa/ 'bivalve mollusk' or 'shell', P /ess/ (see entry 183), and PA /\*aθemwensa/ 'little dog', P /álə moss/ (see entry 68).

## 132. MOTHER

- (a) /nek/ 'my mother', /kek/ 'thy mother'.
- (b) kick "mother" (H8), neck "mother" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*nekya/ 'my mother'; F /nekya/; M /nekiah/ or /neki.yah/; S /nekiya/; Mi /ninkia/; mD /nkək/. PA /\*wekyali/ 'his mother'; F /okye.ni/; M /okian/.

## 133. MOUSE

- (a) /a.pikwess/ 'mouse'.
- (b) apegwas "mouse" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*a.pikwa/ or /\*wa.pikwa/ 'mouse', the latter form probably due to analogical contamination with PA /\*wa.p-/ 'white', and both with PA noun final /\*-ikw-a/ 'gnawing animal, rodent'. In surviving languages the term always appears in diminutive form, often with a super-added diminutive. F /wa.pikono.ha/; C /a.pikosi.s/; O /wa.wa.pikono.či/ with reduplication; S /wa.pikolo?θa/; P /apík<sup>w</sup>sehso/, |apikwəhsehsw|.

## 134. MOUTH

- (a) /meto.n/ 'someone's mouth', /neto.n/ 'my mouth'.
- (b) mettone "mouth" (H10), mehtoan "mouth" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*meto.ni/ 'someone's mouth' (Michelson 35); C /mito.n/; M /meto.n/. PA /\*neto.ni/ 'my mouth'; F /neto.ni/; C /nito.n/; M /neto.n/; O /nito.n/; S /nito.ni/; P /nəton/; uD /nto.n/; Mh /nto.n/; Ms /nəton/ (Eliot and Mayhew nutoon "my mouth" Psalm 17:3).

## 135. MUCUS

- (a) /makikw/ 'nasal mucus'.

## 136. MUSKRAT

- (b) makigue "snot" (H10)
- (c) PA /\*makikwa/ or /\*akikwa/ 'nasal mucus, catarrh', PEA having /\*makikwa/; F /akikwa/; C /akik/, pl. /akikwak/; M (AI) /ake·kon/ 'he has a cold in the head, an obstructed nose'; O /akik/; P /màkik<sup>w</sup>/ 'nasal mucus, catarrh' (not 'phlegm' or 'sputum'); AN in all languages.
- (a) /ossaskwe·ss/ dimin. 'muskrat', and in another Powhatan dialect /mossaskwe·ss/.
- (b) osasqaws "muskrat" (H10), mosskwacus "martent" (H10), mussascus "water rat" and "smell exceedingly strong of musk" (Smith).
- (c) PA /\*weʔšaškwā/ 'muskrat'; F /ašaškwā/; C /wačask/ with /č/ for expected /s/ by diminutive symbolism; M /oʔsas/, pl. /oʔsaskwak/ or /oʔsaskok/; O /waššašk/ or /oššašk/, pl. /waššaškwak/ or /oššaškok/.

Some eastern languages reflect a PEA /\*mohšaškwē·hša/ 'muskrat' (i. e. "little-gatherer-of-grass") or other diminutive variants, from an initial analogical alteration of the PA form; P (and all EA dialects) /móhssk<sup>w</sup>ehso/, [mohsaskwehsiw]; Powhatan (one dialect) /mossaskwe·ss/. The medial in both cases is PA /\*-aškw-/ 'grass, herb', and the root is apparently /\*mohš-/ (?) as in C /mosahkinam/ (TI) 'he gathers it, them up'. Trumbull's etymology of muskrat (Natick Dictionary, p. 299) from musqui-ôáás "red animal" is incorrect. Other eastern languages have different analogical forms, such as Np /təmaskwass/ (Mathevet p. 106, temesk8as, pl. temesk8assak "rat musqué"), modeled after PEA /\*tema·xkwe·wa/ 'beaver (severer-of-trees)' from root /\*tem-/ 'sever, break in two' and medial /\*-a·xkw-/ 'wood,

tree'; P (and general EA) /təmahk<sup>w</sup>e/,  
[təmahkway-| 'beaver'; Nr /təmahk/ (Roger  
Williams tummòck "beaver", pl. tummockquaûog);  
uD /təmá·kwe/.

## 137. NAME

- (a) /ke·/ or /ke·kway keteri-wi·ns ki·r/ 'What  
is your (sg.) name?', . /ari-wi·nso·w/ 'he calls  
himself, he is named so, thus'.
- (b) ka katorawincs yowo "what call you this?"  
(Smith), caqwaih cacuttewaas yowk "what call  
you that?" (H15); cacutterewindg kear "what is  
my name?" (H15), cacutterewindg yowk "what is  
his name?" (H15), cacutterewindg keir "what is  
your name?" (H15), quequoy ternis quire "what  
is your name?" (H12)
- (c) PA /\*wi·nle·wa/ 'he names him' (B125, Lang.  
1.155), TA absolute; F /wi·ne·wa/; C /wi·he·w/;  
M /we·hnew/; and TA objective PA /\*wewi·nla·wali/  
'he names him'; O /owi·na·n/; P /wətəlí·wihlal/.  
PEA /\*aši·wi·nswiwa/ 'he is named so, he  
calls himself thus'; P /alí·wiso/; Ms /asi·wiso/  
(Eliot ussowesu "he is called, named" First  
Chronicles 1:19, 50); Powhatan /ari-wi·nso·w/.  
PEA /\*ke·kwayi \*keteši·wi·nswi/ 'What is  
your (sg.) name?'; P /kek<sup>w</sup> kətəlí·wisi'/; Powhatan  
/ke·kway keteri-wi·ns/.

## 138. NEST

- (a) /wasi·sse·w/ 'nest', perhaps /wači·sse·w/  
(b) wahchesao "nest of a bird" (H11)
- (c) PA /\*wasyeʔəanwi/ 'nest', INAN in all lan-  
guages; F /wasisanwi/, pl. /wasisanwani/;  
C /wačistwan/ with /č/ for expected /s/ by  
diminutive symbolism; M /wasε.ʔ/, pl.  
/wasε.ʔnan/; O (varies with dialect, for example  
see Jones' Ojibwa Texts, Part II, p. 154)  
/wasisswan/, /wasissan/, and /asissan/, pl.  
of the first form /wasisswanan/; S /wθiʔəa/, pl.

/wθiʔθaniwali/. Cree and some Ojibwa dialects show metathesis of /w/ as if pseudo-PA /*\*wasyeʔθwani*/. The ending has been reshaped in Eastern Algonquian.

PEA /*\*wasyehθe.wi*/ 'nest'; P /*wàsəsse*/, pl. /*wàsəssal*/; Ms /*wačiss*/, (Eliot *oowadjish* "her nest" Job 39:27) with the same diminutive symbolism as Cree and perhaps Powhatan.

## 139. NET

- (a) /*assap*/ 'net, seine' AN; pl. /*netassapi.k*/ 'my nets'.
- (b) *aussab* "net" (H11), *nuttassapec* "cobweb" (H4), (actually pl. , "my nets").
- (c) PA /*\*aʔlapyə*/ 'net, seine' (B125, Lang. 1.149), AN in all languages; C /*ahyapiy*/; M /*aʔnap*/, pl. /*aʔnapyak*/; O /*assap*/, pl. /*assapi.k*/; P /*áhlapi*/, pl. /*áhlapəyak*/; Ms /*assap*/, (Eliot *ahshop* "net" Psalm 140:35), /*wətassapah*/ 'his net', (Eliot *wuttahshapoh* "his net" Psalm 35:8).

## 140. NETTLE

- (a) /*masa.n*/ 'nettle' AN.
- (b) *mauhsaan* "nettle" (H11)
- (c) PA /*\*masa.na*/ 'nettle', AN in all languages; F /*masa.na*/, pl. /*masa.naki*/; C /*masa.n*/, /*masa.nask*/ 'nettle plant or stalk' AN; M /*masa.n*/; O /*masa.n*/, pl. /*masa.nak*/, /*masa.našk*/ 'nettle stalk'; S /*maθa.na*/ 'nettle, thorn', pl. /*maθa.naki*/.

## 141. NEW

- (a) /*oska.te.w*/ (II) 'it is new, young'. See MORNING.
- (b) *uscautewh* "it is fair" (H10)
- (c) PA root /*\*wešk-*/ 'new' (B146); pseudo-PA /*\*weška.te.wi*/ 'it is new' (II); compare C /*oska.tisiw*/ 'he is youthful, a young person', /*oska.w*/, /*oska.yiwa.w*/ 'it is new'.

## 142. NOSE

- (a) /*meskiwan*/ 'someone's nose', or /*mehkiwan*/;

/nehkiwan/ or /neskiwan/ 'my nose' (dialect difference probably).

- (b) mehkewh "bill, beak" (H3), meskewe "nose" (H10), nethkeon "nose" (H11), really "my nose".
- (c) PA /\*-xkiwani/ 'nose', INAN dependent noun;  
PA /\*mexkiwani/ 'someone's nose'; C /miskiwan/;  
PA /\*nexkiwani/ 'my nose'; F /nehkiwani/;  
C /niskiwan/; Mi /ahkiwani/ 'bill, beak, nose';  
Mh /nkiwan/; uD /nhikí·yɔn/.

## 143. NUT

- (a) /paka·n/ 'large nut', pl. /paka·ns/ or /paka·nas/ INAN.
- (b) paucauns "walnut" (H15)
- (c) PA /\*paka·na/ or /\*paka·ni/ 'nut' (B125, Lang. I. 143, /\*paka·na/), but INAN in F, Mi, P, and Powhatan; AN in C, M, and O; and both AN and INAN in S); F /paka·ni/, pl. /paka·nani/; C /paka·n/, pl. /paka·nak/; M /paka·n/; O /paka·n/, pl. /paka·nak/; S /paka·na/ or /paka·ni/; Mi /paka·ni/; P /pàkan/ 'large nut, butternut', pl. /pákanal/.

## 144. ONLY

- (a) /na·ntake·/ 'only, if only, would that';  
/na·ntake· nekot/ 'only one'; /na·ntake· pya·č/ 'if only he would come, would that he come' (3 person sg. injunctive).
- (b) naantucah necut "only one" (H11), naantucah pyautch "come again" (H4)
- (c) Compare O /na·nta/ (particle) 'would that, possibly'; (AI) /na·ntake·nimo/ 'he does all in his power'.

## 145. OPOSSUM

- (a) /a·passem/ 'opossum', English loan from Powhatan.
- (b) aposoum "beast in bigness of a pig and in taste alike" (H2), opassom "hath an head like a swine... tail like a rat... of the bigness of a cat" (Smith).

- (c) PA /\*wa·pa<sup>?</sup>θemwa/ 'white dog or dog-like beast'; (Bl25, Lang. 1. 142, 149, PA /\*-a<sup>?</sup>θemw-a/ 'dog', deverbial noun final); C /wa·pastim/; M /wa·pa<sup>?</sup>nem/; O /wa·passim/; P /wápahsəmoḥs/, dimin. None of these terms refers to the opossum.
146. OTTER
- (a) /ketate·w/ 'otter'.
- (b) cuttate 'otter' (H11)
- (c) PA /\*ketate·wa/ 'otter'; F /ketate·wa/; S /kitate/; Powhatan /ketate·w/.
147. PAROQUET
- (a) /maskawins/ 'Carolina parrot', now extinct (i. e., "grain robber")
- (b) maskawhinc 'parrot' (H10), massacamwindg 'parrot' (H12)
- (c) Pseudo-PEA as if /\*maθkawinsowa/ with cluster /\*θk/ not proven; from PA root /\*maθk-/ 'seize by force, rob', and deverbial /\*-awinso-wa/ 'he gathers berries, fruit, grain'.
- PA /\*maθkantwe·wa/ (AI) 'he seizes something by force, he robs people, commits robbery'; C /maskahtwe·w/; M /mahka·htaw/; O /makkantwe·/. PA /\*maθkame·wa/ (TA absolute) 'he robs him, he takes something from him by force'; C /maskame·w/; M /mahka·mε·w/; O /omakkama·n/ (TA objective).
- PA /\*mawinsowa/ 'he gathers berries, fruit, grain, nuts'; C /mawiso·w/; M /mawe·hsow/ 'he (bear) gathers acorns'; O /mawinso/; S /mawiθo/; P /máwiso/.
148. PATH
- (a) /me·w/ 'path' INAN.
- (b) mayu 'going in a path' (H10)
- (c) PA /\*mye·wi/ 'path' INAN; F /mye·wi/, pl. /mye·wani/; M /mi·hekan/ with different or reshaped ending; O /mi·kkan/ with reshaped ending; S /miye·wi/, pl. /miye·wali/; Mi /mi·wi/, pl. /mi·wa/; Np /may/, (Mathevet



p. 37 mai "chemin", mat main<sup>8</sup> "il n'y a pas de chemin"; Ms /may/, (Eliot and Mayhew may "way" John 14:4, 5, 6; mayut "in a path" Psalm 28:11; ummay "his way" Psalm 25:9; ummayash "his paths" Psalms 17:4, 25:10). There is also:

PA /\*metemye·wa/ 'he follows a path or trail';  
C /mitime·w/; M /metε·mow/; S /metemye/.

## 149. PAWPAW

- (a) /assi·min/ 'pawpaw' (Asimina triloba (L.) Dunal, the genus term being from Algonquian).
- (b) assessemin "wheat plum" (H15), with dittographic copying error of Strachey's.
- (c) PA /\*ahši·mini/ 'pawpaw', with cluster /\*hš/ not proven in the absence of a Menomini cognate; F /aši·mini/; O /ašši·min/; S /aʔši·mi/, pl. /aʔši·mi·wali/, and /aʔši·mini·ki·šəwa/ 'September' ('pawpaw month').

## 150. PEANUT

- (a) /assanta·min/ 'hog-peanut' INAN, pl. /assanta·mins/ or /assanta·minas/, /otassanta·minas/ 'his hog-peanuts'. This is almost certainly the hog-peanut, Amphicarpa bracteata, (L.) Fernald.
- (b) assentammens "peas" (H2), ossantamens "peas" (H12), ottassantamens (H12), assentamens "peas" (Smith).
- (c) Pseudo-PEA /\*ahθanta·mini/ 'hog peanut'; the simplex root is PA /\*aʔθ-/ 'put away, cache' which usually appears with a postradical as PA root /\*aʔθant-/ 'conceal in ground'; C /astaht-/; O /assant-/; and Powhatan extended root /assanta·-/.  
PA /\*aʔθančikowa/ 'he conceals food in the ground, he makes a cache'; C /astahčiko·w/; O /assančiko/. Compare M /aʔnapa·hkw/ 'he puts away stores, makes a cache' in which the simplex root appears, PA /\*aʔθ-/. The PA deverbial noun final /\*-min-i/ 'berry, drupe, grain'

is common.

## 151. PEAR

- (a) /matakask/ 'prickly pear' or 'Indian fig' (Opuntia humifusa Rafinesque). In Powhatan this term was probably not species specific, but was used for the similar fruits of the prickly pear, the balsam-apple or prickly cucumber (Echinocystis lobata [Michaux] Torrey and Gray), and the introduced but deadly Jamestown-weed, Jimsonweed, or thorn-apple (Datura Stramonium L. and Datura innoxia Miller).
- (b) matakuskc 'leaf of a prickly pear' (H10)
- (c) PEA /\*matwakaškw- / 'prickly pear' or 'balsam-apple', evidently with both meanings; P /mátakask/ 'balsam-apple' (Echinocystis lobata), pl. /matákaskol/. The elements are:

PA root /\*matw- / 'uneven, jagged' (see COPPER); the deverbial medial /\*-ak- / 'capsule, nut' from PA /\*pak- / 'nut'; and the noun final PA /\*-aškw-i / 'plant, herb, grass' deverbial from the root /\*maškw- / . The PA root /\*pak- / 'capsule, nut' is paired with the PA root /\*pak- / 'strike' (Bl46 /\*pakantamwa / 'he strikes it'), as in (AI) PA /\*pake-wa / 'he strikes, pounds'; S /pake / 'he pounds nuts'; P /pàke / 'he taps, strikes without intent to destroy or injure'. The medial /\*-ak- / is deverbial from root /\*pak- / 'capsule, nut'. In a botanical sense Algonquian semantics classifies all fruits into two groups: /\*pak- / 'capsule, large nut' (deverbial /\*-ak- /) and /\*mi-n- / 'drupe, berry, grain, legume' (deverbial /\*-min- /). Compare O /paka-n / 'nut' and O /pake-ssan / 'plum', the latter classified as a 'capsule' because of the large size and thick covering.

## 152. PENIS

- (a) /netatakay / 'my penis', /atakay / 'penis',

apparently restructured as a nondependent noun.  
/neka·hpamatamen netatakay/ 'I feel a scraping  
or grating of my penis'. See SCRAPE.

- (b) vnegapamuttamen netatakȳ 'it hurts my leg or my  
legs ache' (H8)

- (c) PA /\*-i·θakayi/ 'penis', dependent noun; F  
/-i·nakayi/; C /-i·takay/; M /-e·nak/; uD  
/-í·lak·ay/ as in /wí·lak·ay/ 'his penis'.

Apparently restructured as a nondependent noun  
in some languages: Mi /awi·lakay/ 'penis';  
uD /alák·ay/; Powhatan /atakay/.

## 153. PERSIMMON

- (a) /pessi·min/ 'persimmon', English loan from  
Powhatan; pl. /pessi·minas/ INAN.
- (b) pichamins "excellent plum" (H11), pusheminas  
"plum very delicious when it is ripe" (H12),  
putchamins "fruit like a medlar... red when it is  
ripe... as delicious as an apricot" (Smith).
- (c) PEA /\*pehši·mini/ 'persimmon' (Diospyros  
virginiana L.); uD /xí·mi·n/ (for expected  
/\*pəxi·min/); Powhatan /pessi·min/. The root  
is PA /\*pehš-/ 'peel, husk'; O /pišš-/; S  
/peʔš-/; P |pəhs-|. Compare M /pess·kahew/  
(TA) 'he husks him' for expected /\*pehs·kahew/,  
with de-aspiration of word initial checked syllable,  
for which see MOTE IN EYE (entry 131).

## 154. PIPE

- (a) /ohpo·kan/ 'tobacco pipe'.
- (b) apokan "tobacco pipe" (H2), vppocane "tobacco  
pipe" (H12), vhpoocañ "tobacco pipe" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*wexpwa·kana/ AN 'tobacco pipe'; F  
/ahpwa·kana/; C /ospwa·kan/; M /ohpuakan/;  
O /oppwa·kan/; Mi /pwa·kana/; uD /hopó·k·an/.

## 155. PLAICE

See FLOUNDER, (entry 86).

## 156. PLAY

- (a) /pa·hpiko·w/ 'he plays a flute' (?) (AI).
- (b) pawpecoo "play on a pipe" (H12)
- (c) PA /\*pa·hpiwa/ 'he laughs' (B125, Lang. 1.152);

ʔ /pa·hpiw/, dimin. /pa·hpisiw/ 'he laughs a little'; O /pa·ppi/. However, in Eastern Algonquian and some other languages the term means 'play' rather than 'laugh'. F /pa·hpiwa/ 'he entertains'; Mi /pa·hpiani/ 'I play'; uD /pá·po/ 'he plays'; P /pàhpo/ 'he plays', [pahpiw].

'Play, frolic, gambol' is the Penobscot meaning, and one suspects that this is the original meaning rather than 'laugh'.

## 157. PLUM

- (a) /po·skam/ 'plum' AN, pl. /po·skamak/. This is probably Prunus americana Marsh., with a fruit which has a thick skin. Despite Strachey's meaning it is probably not the red mulberry, Morus rubra L.
- (b) poskamatk "mulberries" (H1)
- (c) PA /\*po·θkama/ 'wild American plum'; S /poʔkama/ 'peach' (modern meaning), dimin. /poʔkama·θä/ 'plum', /poʔkama·wi·ši/ 'plum tree', /poʔkamawi·ki·šəwa/ 'June' ('wild plum month'). Compare O /po·kkito·nš/ AN 'pear' with the same root, PA /\*po·θk-/.

For the only native mulberry, Shawnee has /mtekwa·palwa/ 'red mulberry tree', Morus rubra L.

## 158. POT

- (a) /ahkehkwassen/ 'copper kettle, metal or stone pot' (see COPPER); /ahkehk/ 'water-drum, pot' AN, pl. /ahkehkok/; /ahkehkwins/ 'small pot, kettle'.
- (b) aucutgagwassun "copper kettle" (H4), ahqwehkooc "drum" (really pl.) (H5), aucagmins "kettle" (H9) with writing error of m for w, aucagwins "pot" (H12)
- (c) PA /\*axkehkwa/ 'pot, kettle, water-drum' (Bl25, Lang. 1. 142, Bl46 Section 31, p. 96);

F /ahkohkwa/ 'pot, water-drum', pl. /ahkohko.ki/, with assimilation of /\*e/ to /o/ before /hkw/ (see B146 Section 3, p. 86); C /askihk/; M /ahkɛ.h/, pl. /ahkɛ.hkok/; O /akkikk/, pl. /akkikko.k/; S /aʔkoʔkwa/, pl. /aʔkoʔko.ki/; Mi /ahkihkw/, pl. /ahkihkwa/; P /kkohk/, pl. /kkòhkak/, /nətahkohk/ 'my pot, my buttocks, rump'.

PA /\*axkehkwinsa/ dimin. 'little pot'; C /askihkos/; M /ahkɛ.hko.hseh/; O /akkikko.ns/; Powhatan /ahkehkwins/.

## 159. POUR

- (a) /oso.kenemen/ (TI) 'he pours it'.  
 (b) vsowcunnemun "pour in water" (H12)  
 (c) PEA /\*weso.kenameni/ (TI) 'he pours it'; P /wəsókənəmən/. The PEA TI theme-sign /\*-am-/ was assimilated (?) to /\*-em-/ following /\*-en-/ 'by hand' late in PEA times. The root is as follows:

PA /\*so.k-/ 'pour, soak'; C /so.k-/ (C /so.kistita.w/ 'he soaks it'); O /so.k-/ as in O /so.kippo-/ 'it snows'.

## 160. PUCCOON

- (a) /pakkan/ 'puccoon', English loan from Powhatan; 'Indian paint plant, red dye'. The plant is Lithospermum caroliniense (Walter) Macmillan.  
 (b) poughcone "red paint or dye" (H11), pokcoons "a red dye" (H5), pocones "small root that grows in the mountains, which being dried and beat in powder turns red" (Smith).  
 (c) PEA /\*pakaxkanwi/ 'blood, red dye'; P /pákahkan/ 'blood', /pakáhkanok/ 'in the blood'; /nəpákkanom/ 'my blood' INAN, stem |pakahkanw-|; Mh /pkáhkan/ 'blood', by syncope from |pakahkanw-|; Nanticoke /pakahk/ 'blood' with apocope similar to that of the SNE languages.

Somehow related are Mi /ni·pikkanwi/ 'blood' as if from /\*ni·pekaxkanwi/, and Pq /nipakk/ (Roger Williams néepuck 'blood') as if from /\*ni·pakaxkanwi/.

## 161. PUMPKIN

- (a) /mahkahk/ 'pumpkin' INAN (Cucurbita pepo L.).
- (b) makawke "gourd" (H10), mahcawk "pumpkin" (H12), macaugascaunemes "grape's stone or the stone of any plum" (H7), macocks "pumpkins" (Smith).
- (c) PA /\*mahkahkwi/ 'tub, cask, calabash', with varying degrees of semantic change in the different languages; F /mahkahkwi/ 'box', pl. /mahkahko·ni/; C /mahkahk/ 'tub, cask'; M /mahka·h/ 'box', pl. /mahka·hkon/; O /makkakk/ 'tub, box', pl. /makkakko·n/; S /mka?kwi/ 'box, tub, keg', pl. /mka?kowali/; mD (and some uD dialects ?) /máhkahkw/ 'pumpkin', pl. /mahkáhkwal/. The Delaware form is borrowed from the Algonquian languages to the south, from the more agricultural Nanticoke and Powhatan peoples of the Chesapeake Bay region, since /h/ is the reflex of PA /\*hk/ in all Delaware dialects. The Powhatan form with the same meaning 'pumpkin' and the expected sound change in Delaware which did not occur point to certain borrowing from the south.

The other term given by Strachey is evidently mistranslated and should be /mahkahkoskanimas/ 'pumpkin seeds'.

## 162. RACCOON (1)

- (a) /a·re·hkan/ (?) 'raccoon', English loan from Powhatan.
- (b) aroughcan (Smith), arathkone "beast like a fox" (H2), arratkcune (H6)
- (c) The source of this is uncertain, but perhaps suggests a PA /\*la·lwe·čkan-/ (?); M

/na·ni·čkanε·na·w/ legendary name of the  
'raccoon'.

163. RACCOON (2) (a) /e·sepan/ 'raccoon', pl. /e·sepanak/. This is another Powhatan dialect gloss, but what dialect we do not know.
- (b) esepannauk "hare" (H7), actually plural. This is unquestionably the raccoon despite Strachey's mistranslation, perhaps due to viewing the animal at a distance in the brush.
- (c) PA /\*e·hsepana/ 'raccoon', evidently reshaped in Eastern Algonquian as PEA /\*e·sepana/; F /e·sepana/; M /ε·hsepan/; O /e·ssipan/; P /ésəpanəss/ dimin., pl. /ésəpansak/; mD /é·span/ pl. /e·spānak/ with syncope; Np /asəp/, (Mathevet p. 24 assep, pl. assebanak "chat sauvage"); Nr /asəp/, pl. /asəpanak/ (Roger Williams aûsup, pl. âusuppānnog).

164. RAIN (a) /kemiwan/ (II) 'it rains, is raining'.
- (b) komeyhon "rain" (H8), cameowan "rain" (H12)
- (c) PA /\*kemiwanwi/ 'it rains, is raining' (II) (Michelson, Lang. 13. 73-75 [1937]; B146, p. 91); F /kemiya·wi/, analogically reshaped; C /kimiwan/; M /keme·wan/; O /kimiwan/; S /kimowa·nwi/, reshaped by analogy to S /kwtela·nwi/ 'it rains hard'.

165. RAW (a) /askani·w/ 'it is raw' (II).
- (b) ascanniewh "raw" (H12), vscannewh "not ripe" (H13)
- (c) PA /\*aškenwi/ and /\*aškanwi/ (II) 'it is raw'; F /aškenwi/; C /aska·w/ (ending reshaped); M /askε·n/; O /aškin/; S /škinwi/ and /škanwi/.

Powhatan /askani·w/ suggests another archetype, probably PA or PEA /\*aškanyī·wi/ (?).

## 166. REED (1)

- (a) /atask/ 'reed, water weed', pl. /ataskwas/  
 (b) attasqwas 'weeds' (H15), attasskuss 'weeds or grass' (Smith).  
 (c) PEA /\*aθwaškwi/ 'reed, water weed'; P /ālask/ 'reed', pl. /ālaskol/. The root is PA /\*aθw- / 'round' (see ARROW, entry 16), with the noun final PA /\*-aškw-i/ 'plant, herb, grass' (lexical from root /\*maškw-/. There is also:

PA /\*aʔθa.kanaškwi/ 'reed' (probably Phragmites communis, var. Berlandieri [Fournier] Fernald); C /asta.kanask/; O /assa.kanašk/, pl. /assa.kanaško.n/.

## 167. REED (2)

- (a) /ni.ssa.kan/ 'reed, cane' (probably genus Arundinaria).  
 (b) nissakan 'reed' (H10), nisake 'cane' (H10), nehsaakan 'reed' (H12)  
 (c) Pseudo-PA as if /\*ni.ʔθa.kanaškwi/; the root is PA /\*ni.ʔθ- / 'shred'; M /ne.ʔn- /; O /ni.ss- / and extended root /ni.sse.- /; P [nəhse- | extended root.

## 168. ROE (1)

- (a) /wa.hk/ 'fish or frog egg', pl. /wa.hkwak/ 'roe, fish eggs'. See EGG.  
 (b) woock 'caviar or the roe of sturgeon' (H4)  
 (c) PA /\*wa.hkwa/ 'fish or frog egg' AN, pl. /\*wa.hko.ki/; C /wa.hkwa/ 'fish or frog egg', pl. /wa.hkwak/ 'fish eggs, spawn, roe', also C /wa.hkwan/ 'roe' AN, pl. /wa.hkwanak/; M /wa.h/ 'fish egg' AN, pl. /wa.hkok/ 'roe, fish or frog eggs' (also M /wa.hkow/ 'female sturgeon with roe'); O /wa.kk/ 'egg of fish or frog' AN, pl. /wa.kkok/ or /wa.kkwak/ 'fish eggs, roe, spawn'.

## 169. ROE (2)

- (a) /osi.ka.n/ 'roe' AN.  
 (b) vsecān 'gristle of a sturgeon' (H7)  
 (c) PEA /\*wešyeka.na/ 'roe' AN; P /wəśəkan/



'roe', pl. /wəsəkanak/ AN. This term is found in all EA dialects, and is similar to a dependent noun in other languages:

PA /\*-šyi.kani/ 'rump', INAN dependent noun; PA /\*wešyi.kani/ 'his rump'; F /ošī.kani/; M /osi.kan/; Np /wəsik/, (Mathevet p. 95 8sik "croupe").

## 170. ROOT

(a) /očapahk/ 'root' INAN.

(b) vtchapoc "root" (H13)

(c) PA /\*wečye.pihki/ 'root' INAN, pl.

/\*wečye.pihkali/; F /očē.pihki/, pl.

/očē.pihkani/; C /očē.pihk/; M /očī.pēh/, pl.

/očī.pēhkan/; O /očī.pikk/, pl. /očī.pikkan/;

S /očē.píʔki/ 'medicine, medicinal root', pl.

/očē.pkali/, and /očē.pkaʔkatwi/ 'root'. This

has been reshaped in Eastern Algonquian:

PEA /\*wačapahkwi/ and /\*wečapahkwi/

'root'; P /wáčapahk/ 'plant root, medicinal

root', /wáčapahk<sup>w</sup>/ 'shrub or tree root, bole,

lower trunk of tree below the limbs or leaf-line',

pl. of both forms /wačápahkol/ (in the coastal

dialect of Penobscot with partly different rules

of syncope the forms are /wáčap<sup>w</sup>/, pl.

/wáčapkol/); WA /wačáp<sup>w</sup>/ with syncope as in

coastal Penobscot. The PEA form /\*wačapahkwi/

has been analogically reshaped partly on the model

of PA /\*watapya/ 'sewing root' as follows:

PA /\*watapya/ 'fine spruce root, sewing root';

C /watapiy/; O /watap/, pl. /watapi.k/; P

/wátapi/, pl. /wátapəyak/; Np /watap/, (Mathevet

p. 22 8atap "racine a coudre").

The PEA noun final /\*-ahkw-i/ contains a

short vowel subject to syncope and is not the

same as PA /\*-a.xkw-/ 'wood, tree'.

## 171. ROPE

(a) /pi.menahko.n/ 'rope, cord', dimin.

/pi·menahkwa·ne·ns/ 'small cord or line of twined thread'.

- (b) peminak "rope" (H11), pemunakqweraneind "twined thread" (H15), peyminako~ "thread" (H11), pemanakaon "cord or small line or a thread" (H4), pemunkuan "rope or cord" (H13)
- (c) PA /\*pyi·menahkwa·ni/ 'rope, cord'; C /pi·minahkwa·n/; M /pi·mena·hkwan/; O /pi·minakkwa·n/, pl. /pi·minakkwa·nan/, dimin. /pi·minakkwa·ne·ns/ 'small cord, twine'; S /pi·min'kwa/ 'thread'.

## 172. ROTTEN

- (a) /atet/ (II) 'it stinks, it is rotten, decayed'.
- (b) ahtut "it stinketh" (H8), auutut "stink" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*aθetwi/ (II) 'it stinks, it is rotten, decayed'; F /anetwi/ 'it is rotten'; M /anɛ·t-/ in /anɛ·timyakwat/ 'it smells decayed', /anɛ·tipokwat/ 'it tastes decayed'; O deverbial /-anat/ in /kawanat/ 'it (wooden object) falls or lies from being rotten, it (clothing) decays'; S deverbial /-aletwi/ in /wiškaletwi/ 'it is rotting'; D (all dialects) /alát/ 'it is rotten'; Ms and Nr /anət/, (Eliot anit "it stank" Exodus 16:20, matta anetunoo "it did not stink" Exodus 16:24; Roger Williams anit "it is putrified"); Np /alet/, (Mathevet p. 23 alet "pourri").

## 173. SALT

- (a) /sawa·n/ 'salt'.
- (b) sawwehone "blood" (Smith), sawwone "salt" (H13); some sort of misunderstanding by Smith.
- (c) The root is PEA /šaw-/ , or extended root /\*šawa·-/ 'sour'; P /saw-/ and /sawa-/ , as in P /sawáhpokat/ 'it tastes sour' and /sawáskihko/ 'sour grass, wood sorrel' (Oxalis montana Rafinesque), pl. /sawáskihkəwal/. However, some eastern languages have the root following the form of the "central" languages,

as in WA /siwan/ 'salt', mD /ší.wan/.

PA /\*ši.w-/ 'sour'; C/si.w-/ (C /si.wa.w/ 'it is sour, salty'); M /se.w-/; O /ši.w-/ (O /ši.wan/ 'it is sour, salty').

## 174. SAND

- (a) /re.kaw/ 'sand'.  
 (b) racawh "sand" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*le.kawi/ 'sand'; F /ne.kawi/; C /ye.kaw/;  
 M /nɛ.ka.w/; O /ne.kaw/; S /le.kawi/; Mi  
 /ne.kawi/; uD /le.k.aw/; Mh /nakaw/; P root  
 /nekaw-/ in P /nekáwakame/ 'it is a sandy lake',  
 /nekáwihtək<sup>w</sup>/ 'sandy river' (also the Penobscot  
 name for the Tobique River in New Brunswick),  
 /nekawámkimin/ 'sand cherry' or 'sand plum'  
 (Prunus depressa Pursh).

## 175. SCAB

- (a) /meki/ 'scab', pl. /meki.s/ 'scabs'.  
 (b) meihkeih "sore" (H13), meihkeis "wart" (H15),  
 actually pl.  
 (c) PA /\*mekyi/ 'scab'; F /omeki/ with prothetic  
 vowel; C /mikiy/ INAN; Mt /mičiy/; P /mèki/,  
 pl. /mèkəyal/. PA /\*nemekyi/ 'my scab'; F  
 /netomeki/ (restructured); C /nimikiy/; M  
 /nemɛ.k/ (restructured as a dependent noun);  
 Mt /nimičiy/; P /nèməkim/. There is also the  
 AI verb:

PA /\*wemekiwa/ 'he has scabs, is scabby';  
 F /omekiwa/; C /omikiw/; M /omɛ.ke.w/;  
 O /omiki/; P /mèkəyo/, but /nəmèkiwi/ 'I  
 have scabs'.

## 176. SCALE

- (a) /warahake./ 'scale of a fish or reptile', pl.  
 /warahakayak/  
 (b) woraihawk "scales of a fish" (H13), (actually  
 sg.)  
 (c) PA /\*walahakaya/ 'scale of fish or reptile' AN;  
 C /wayakay/ AN, reshaped; M /wasa.hak/ AN,  
 analogically reshaped with /s/ for expected

/n/; O /wanakaʔay/ AN; S /olʔhaka/; P (and all EA dialects) /wálahake/ 'scale of fish or reptile, shed snake skin', [walahakay], pl. /wálahakak/.

The Cree, Ojibwa, and Menomini terms by two separate processes have been reshaped by analogical contamination with the dependent noun PA /\*-ašakahaya/ 'skin' (of birds, fishes, reptiles, and man, but not of mammals) AN, as follows:

PA /\*wašakahaya/ 'his skin'; C /wasakay/ INAN, with contraction; northern O /wašakay/ INAN; O /ošakaʔayan/ AN, /nišakaʔay/ 'my skin'. The Cree and Ojibwa words for 'scale' have been analogically reshaped following the model of the terms for 'his skin' in which there was a transposition of /\*h/ and /\*k/ so that the sound change falsely appears to be an example of independent metathesis but is in reality metathesis conditioned by the analogy between two terms of similar phonological sequence and related meanings. The Menomini form for 'scale' is different and shows substitution of /s/ for expected /n/ by analogy to the word for 'his skin', but no pseudo-metathesis. Another term for 'skin' is:

PA /\*-θo·kayi/ 'skin', dependent noun; /\*neθo·kayi/ 'my skin'; M /nenok/; S /nilo·ka/ or /nilo·kaye/; Mi /nilo·kayi/.

Still another term for 'skin' is the dependent noun PA /\*-θameškaya/ AN, 'inner skin or membrane' (refers to the elastic derma and the attached panniculus adiposus in both man and animals, that is, all structures between the epidermis and the muscular flesh, in both

Montagnais and Penobscot):

PA /\*weθameš kayali/ 'his inner skin'; F /onameš kayani/ 'his skin'; Mt /otimiške·/;  
P /wə̀lamske/ INAN, [-laməskay]. PA  
/\*neθameš kaya/ 'my inner skin'; F /nenameš kaya/  
'my skin'; P /nə̀lamske/ 'my inner skin'.

## 177. SCRAPE

- (a) /neka·hpamatamen/ (TI) 'I feel the scraping, grating of it'. See PENIS.
- (b) vnegapamuttamen netatakʷ 'it hurts my leg, or my legs ache' (H8)
- (c) Root PA /\*ka·xp-/ 'scrape, scrape bare or dry, grate, abrade'; C /ka·sp-/ (C /ka·spisam/ 'he makes it brittle, parches it'); M /ka·hp-/ (M /ka·hpahtam/ 'he scrapes it clean in eating it', /ka·hpiwew/ 'it makes a scraping sound'); O /ka·pp-/ (O /nika·ppina·/ 'I crumble him in my hand', /oka·ppisa·n/ 'he parches it').

PEA TI final /\*-amat-/ 'feel'; P  
/nə̀tahk<sup>w</sup> amatamən/ 'I feel the pain of it', with  
the PEA TI theme sign /\*-am-/ and PEA TI  
objective suffix /\*-eni/.

## 178. SEE

- (a) /onamen/ (TI class 3) 'he sees it'; /mata onamo·wen/ 'he does not see it'. The latter form gives the correct negative verb inflection of the TI, evidently given wrongly by Strachey in 'I do not hear it' (see HEAR, entry 106).
- (b) vnnamuñ 'see' (H13), mata namowuñ 'not to see' (H13)
- (c) PEA /\*wenameni/ 'he sees it' (Class 3 TI); all SNE languages /wə̀namən/, (Quinnipiac, Pierson p. 28 wonaumen 'he sees it'; Np, Mathevet p. 69 nikaten-naman m8liang 'plut a dieu que je voye Montreal', pp. 21, 25 mat a8an nina8a or nen8a 'je n'ai vu personne'), uD /wə̀né·mən/. In P and all EA dialects the root appears as Class

2 TI form, P /wənámihnton/ 'he sees it' and negative /ʌta wənámihntowən/ 'he does not see it', but as a deverbal final it assumes the Class 3 TI form, as in P /wətəpínamən/ 'he examines, inspects it'.

## 179. SEED (1)

- (a) /ami·nehka·n/ 'seed', pl. /ami·nehka·nak/ AN 'seeds', with prothetic vowel which circumvents syncope of /-eh-/.  
 (b) amenacanac "seeds" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*mi·nehka·ni/ 'seed (of grain, grass)';  
 O /mi·nikka·n/ 'seed', pl. /mi·nikka·nan/;  
 S /mi·nʔka/, pl. /mi·nʔka·na/ and /mi·nʔka·naki/, INAN and AN. The O form is also AN when reference is to seeds saved for future planting, O pl. /mi·nikka·nak/, positing PA /\*mi·nehka·na/ 'seed for sowing'. This is a formative of PA /\*mi·nehke·wa/ (AI) 'he collects, saves seeds, berries' with the abstract noun final /\*-a·n-/, with the semantic variations O /mi·nikke-/ 'he gathers whortleberries'; S /mi·nʔke/ 'he saves seeds for next year'.

## 180. SEED (2)

- (a) /mahkahkoskaniminas/ 'pumpkin seeds' INAN pl.; /waskanimin/ 'seed or stone of fruit, pit'.  
 (b) macaugscaunemes "grape's stone or the stone of any plum" (H7). See PUMPKIN.  
 (c) PA /\*weθkanimini/ or /\*waθkanimini/ 'seed or stone of fruit, pit' (PA /\*waθkan-i/ 'bone', see BONE, entry 32; connective /\*-i-/ or /\*-e-/, and deverbal noun final /\*-min-/ 'drupe, berry'); M /ohka·nē·men/ 'stone of fruit' with connective /\*-e-/, P /skánimin/, pl. /skaníminal/; mD /waxkanim/; Np /wskanim/, (Mathevet p. 76 8skanimeněs "graine de bled, semence"); Ms /oskanim/, (Eliot and Mayhew ooskannem "his seed" Psalm 89:29, 36) 'his

seed', Ms and Nr /wskanim/ 'seed', pl.  
/wskaniminaš/.

181. SEINE

See NET, entry 139.

182. SHARP

- (a) /ki.ni.w/ (II) 'it is sharp'. Note the sound contrast with /kene.w/ 'it is long' in entry 118.
- (b) keneiwoh "sharp" (H13)
- (c) The PA root appears in two forms, the simplex /\*ki.n-/ and the extended root /\*ki.nl-/ 'sharp, pointed'. Some descendent languages reflect both types, and some languages generalize one or the other. PA /\*ki.n-/ is found exclusively in Fox and Cree as /ki.n-/, and /\*ki.nl-/ alone appears in Menomini (M /ke.hn-/) and Miami (Mi /ki.nt-/). Since /\*n/ and /\*nl/ coalesce to give /n/ in Ojibwa, Massachussee, and Powhatan, these languages do not unequivocally reflect either root type, although the proto-form may be indicated loosely by the accompanying features of whole words. General Abenaki and general Delaware employ reflexes of both types, and both have /hl/ as the reflex of /\*nl/. Compare the following examples:

PA /\*ki.nikenwi/ (II) 'it is pointed, sharp; it grows or tapers to a point'; C /ki.nika.w/ (Cree everywhere replaces other II finals with /-a.w/); M /ke.hnekən/ (Menomini everywhere replaces /\*ki.n-/ with /ke.hn-/); P /kínikən/ 'it is sharp, pointed; it is big, prominent'.

PA /\*ki.nye.wi/ (II) 'it is sharp, pointed'; C /ki.na.w/; O /ki.na./; uD /kí.ne.w/. The PA alternation /\*a./: /\*e./ before /\*w/ is leveled out as usual in Cree and Ojibwa.

PA /\*ki.nlyi.wi/ (II) 'it is sharp, pointed'; M /ke.hn-/; Mi /ki.nta.wawi/ (ending analogically reshaped ?; Dunn kindawawi, who fails to

distinguish vowel lengths; Mi /nt/ is the regular reflex of PA /\*nl/; O /ki·na·/; Ms /kina/, but in Martha's Vineyard dialect /kini/ (Eliot keénu, Mayhew kene 'it is sharp', Psalm 120:4); mD /kíhlo/, |ki·hli·w| 'he is pointed, has an erection'; P (and EA) |kihliw| in P /kəsí·kihlo/ (AI and II) 'he, it is sharp' (contrast /mačí·kihlo/ 'he, it is dull'); Powhatan /ki·ni·w/ (which corresponds better to this archetype rather than to /\*ki·nye·wi/ unless one prefers to interpret Strachey's recording as /ki·ne·w/ which is improbable). The PA alternation /\*ya·/ : /\*yi·/ before /\*w/ is leveled out in Miami, Ojibwa, and Massachussee (but apparently not in the Martha's Vineyard dialect).

## 183. SHELL

- (a) /osaskway/ 'freshwater pearl mussel' or 'moquette' (of genus Lampsilis Rafinesque), pl. /osaskwayak/.
- (b) osakescai "cockle" (H4), vsasgwoik "pearl mussel shells" (H12). Evidently Strachey has transposed the s in his first recording at (H4).
- (c) PA /\*wešaθkwaya/ 'freshwater pearl mussel' (apparently genus Lampsilis Rafinesque); O /ošakkwe·ss/ dimin., pl. /ošakkwe·ssak/; Powhatan /osaskway/. Other terms for mollusks are:

PA /\*mi·kehsa/ 'spiral univalve mollusk, trumpet shell, conch, whelk; shell bead made from a univalve mollusk, wampum bead'; F /mi·kesa/; C /mi·kis/; M /me·kes/, pl. /me·kehsak/; O /mi·kiss/, pl. /mi·kissak/; S /mi·keʔθa/. As a general term for the morphologic type of spiral univalve mollusks, this PA word was originally applied to the larger species of freshwater or river snails of conch-like



appearance, such as Io spinosa Lea, but later applied also to the marine whelks, and especially to Fulgur canaliculatus Say, found on the Atlantic coast southward from Cape Cod, from which wampum beads were made. The translation cowrie or cowry shell sometimes given for this term is incorrect since all species of cowrie are tropical marine types which extend no further north than the coasts of southern Florida and California.

PA /\*e.nsa/ 'any bivalve mollusk; clam, bivalve shell', pl. /\*e.nsaki/; F /e.si.ha/ dimin.; C /e.s/ or /e.sa/; Mt /e.š/; M /ε.hse.hse/ dimin.; O /e.ns/ and in some dialects /e.ss/; P /ess/, pl. /æssak/.

The Shawnee term /mškwahēʔθa/ 'freshwater mussel' apparently refers to the genus Pleurobema, most of which have salmon red flesh. Their type distribution is in the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, and Missouri rivers.

## 184. SHOE

- (a) /mahkesen/ 'shoe, moccasin' (English loan from Powhatan), pl. /mahkesens/ INAN.
- (b) mockasins "shoes" (Smith), mawhcasuns "shoes" (H13)
- (c) PA /\*maxkeseni/ 'shoe, moccasin' (previously given wrongly as /\*maxkesini/ by Bloomfield and myself), with noun final PA /\*-esen-i/ 'footwear piece or section'; F /mahkese.hi/ dimin.; C /maskisin/; M /mahkε.sen/ or /mahkε.san/; O /makkisin/; S /mkiθe/, and /omaʔkiθe/ 'his shoe', /nimaʔkiθena/ 'my shoes'; Mi /mahkisini/; P /māhksən/, pl. /māhksənak/, AN [mahkəsən] (compare P /wak<sup>w</sup>ānkəsən/ 'high or shank shoe, buskin'); Mh /mkisin/; Ms /mahkəs/, (Psalm 60:8, Eliot nummohkis "my shoe", Mayhew nummohkus).

The noun final /\*-esen-i/ is found in other forms:

PA /\*ase·seni/ 'front top section of shoe, tongue or instep piece (of classical or original Algonquian moccasin)'; C /ase·sin/, pl. /ase·sina/; Mt /aše·šin/; eastern O and Algonkin /ase·sin/; P /āsesən/, pl. /āsesənal/; Mc /sesən/.

## 185. SHOOT

- (a) /nepemotamen/ 'I shoot (at) it' (TI)  
 (b) nepomotamen "shoot" (H13)  
 (c) PEA /\*nepemotameni/ (TI) 'I shoot (at) it'; P /nəpəmótamən/; Powhatan /nepemotamen/. PA /\*nepemota/ 'I shoot it' (TI absolute); F /nepemota/; S /nipemota/; and in TI objective form, C /nipimote·n/; M /nepε·motan/; O /nipimota·n/.

PA /\*pemotamwa/ (TI absolute) 'he shoots it' (Bl46, p. 114); or early-PA /\*pemwetamwa/; F /pemotamwa/; C /pimotam/; M /pemo·tam/; S /pemotamwa/.

## 186. SHORT

- (a) /tahkwesiw/ (AI) 'he is short'.  
 (b) tacqwaisuw "short" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*tahkwesiwa/ (AI) 'he is short'; F /čahkwihwa/ with reshaped final; C /tahkosiw/; M /tasko·sew/ with discrepant /sk/ for expected /\*hk/ as in SPOON; O /takko·si/; P /čáčahk<sup>w</sup>əso/ with reduplicated root. The root is PA /\*tahkw-/ 'short', or with consonantal diminutive symbolism /\*čahkw-/. However, Munsee /čahkw-/ (mD /čahkwahkwší·šo/ dimin. 'he is short') suggests that the PA root could be /\*taxkw-/. This noncorrespondence of clusters follows a similar pattern to that observed in PUMPKIN (entry 161) which is due to borrowing into Delaware, and in BLACK (entry 27) which is unexplained, although in these

three examples Menomini diverges only in SHORT, and is unique in showing the same divergence in SPOON (entry 201).

## 187. SIT DOWN

- (a) /nahapiw/ (AI) 'he sits down', /nahapis/ (2 person sg. imperative) 'sit (thou) down!'  
 (b) nehappeo "sit down" (H10), nawpiu "sit down" (H13); nahapuc "dwell" (H5), nehappec "sit further" (H11)  
 (c) PA /\*nahapiwa/ 'he sits down' (AI); C /nahapiw/; O /naʔapi/; Powhatan /nahapiw/.

PA /\*nahapilwe/ 'sit (thou) down!' (2 person sg. AI imper.); C /nahapiy/; O /naʔapin/.

## 188. SKIN

- (a) /assay/ 'skin, hide, pelt' INAN, /otassayas/ 'his hides, skins', /neneskassayem/ 'my soiled or filthy hide', /matassay/ 'prepared fabric or dressed leather', pl. /matassayas/. See COVER, entry 60.  
 (b) vtocais "leather" (H9), nuscahsaiyam "tawny" (H14), matasaeih "apron of any kind of dressed leather" (H2), matassaish "napkin or any linen cloth" (H11)  
 (c) PA /\*ahθaya/ 'skin, hide, pelt (of fur bearing mammal)'; F /asaya/, pl. /asayaki/, and F /asayi·h/ 'buckskin' dimin., pl. /asayi·hani/; C /ahtay/, pl. /ahtayak/; M /aska·hniy/ 'rawhide' (reshaped ?, but with cluster /hn/); O /aškattay/ AN 'green skin or rawhide' (evidently a loan from Cree); S /aʔθaya/, pl. /aʔθaye·ki/; mD /xay/, |axay|; Mh /xay/, |axay|, /ntáxay/ 'my hide', /wtáxayan/ 'his hide'.

Pseudo-PA /\*matwahθaya/ 'prepared fabric, dressed leather'; for root /\*matw-/ 'uneven'; see COPPER, entry 58.

## 189. SLED

- (a) /ota·pa·kan/ 'sled, toboggan' (English loan

from Eastern Algonquian, either Powhatan or Abenaki).

- (b) atapakan 'kixe' (H2), natapakan 'kixe' (H9)
- (c) PEA /\*weta·pa·kani/ 'sled'; P /wə́tápakən/ INAN
190. SLEEP (1)
- (a) /nepe·w/ 'he sleeps, he is asleep' (AI),  
/nenepa·m/ 'I am asleep', /nema·či·-nepa·m/  
'I start to go to sleep'.
- (b) nuppaw̃ 'sleep' (H10), nepaũ 'sleep' (H13),  
nummacvshe nepam 'I have been asleep' (H8)
- (c) PA /\*nepe·wa/ 'he sleeps, is sleeping' (Bl46,  
p. 97); F /nepe·wa/; C /nipa·w/; M /nepe·w/;  
O /nipa·/; S /nepe·wa/; Mi /nipe·wa/;  
Powhatan /nepe·w/. For the alternation of PA  
/\*a·/ : /\*e·/ before /\*w/, leveled out in  
Cree and Ojibwa, see Bl 46, Sections 34, 35,  
and 75, pp. 97, 98, 110; and HIGH entry 108, and  
LONG entry 118. The alternation, as Bloomfield  
thought, seems to be best preserved in Menomini.  
Cree and most Ojibwa dialects regularly level it  
to /\*a·/, and Fox and Shawnee seem to fluctuate  
in treatment subject to conditions which are not  
entirely clear. However from the data at hand,  
it is evident that in Fox and Shawnee the alter-  
nation of /\*a·/ to /\*e·/ regularly occurs be-  
fore the third person suffix /\*-wa/, but is  
leveled out to /\*a·/ before the II suffix /\*-wi/.

The /\*a·/ : /\*e·/ alternation is archaic in  
Proto-Algonquian, and the /\*a·/ assumes a  
morphophonemic character. Since the AI verb of  
PA has a zero ending in the first and second  
persons singular, and since long final vowels  
are not permitted in PA phonology, AI verb stems  
ending in /\*-a·/ such as /\*pya·-/ 'come' and  
/\*nepa·-/ 'sleep' shorten the vowel in the  
singular of the first and second persons of the

AI, attested by PA /\*nepya/ 'I come' (see entry 55), and /\*nenepa/ 'I sleep'. On the other hand, most languages with Goddard's long-\*m pluralizing endings which are innovations (see Goddard 1967, Sections 2.2, 3.4, and 4.2), namely Menomini, Massachussee, and Munsee-Delaware, have the first and second person singular AI forms reshaped to end in /-m/. The /m/ of the long-\*m plural endings was segmented out and analogically extended to the singular where it functioned to preserve the long /\*a-/ vowel. Since Powhatan has such forms (/nepya·m/ 'I come', /nenepa·m/ 'I sleep'), it can be assumed to have pluralizing suffixes similar to Munsee and Massachussee.

The first person singular forms are:

PA /\*nenepa/ 'I sleep' (B146, p. 97); F /nenepa/; C /ninipa·n/; M /nenε·pa·m/; O /ninipa·/; S /ninepa/; Mi /ninepa/ or /nepa·ni/; Powhatan /nenepa·m/.

191. SLEEP (2)

- (a) /kawi·w/ 'he sleeps, is asleep'; of a different Powhatan dialect than /nepe·w/.
- (b) kawwiu 'sleep' (H9)
- (c) PEA /\*kawi·wa/ 'he sleeps, is sleeping'; P /kàwo/, |kawiw|; D (all dialects) /kawi·w/; Np /kawiw/, (Mathevet pp. 7, 25, 40, 107 ka8i8 'il dort'). The root is PA /\*kaw-/ 'lie prostrate' (B146, p. 90) as in /\*kawenkwaʔšiwa/ 'he is sleepy'.

192. SLEEP WITH

- (a) /kewi·hpe·ntomen/ (AI) 'we (inclusive) sleep together', /newi·hpe·ma·w/ (TA) 'I sleep with him'.
- (b) cowʔhpaantomun 'lie together' (H9).
- (c) PA /\*kewi·hpe·ntoPena/ 'we (inclusive) sleep together'; M (exclusive) /newe·hpε·htomenaw/; uD /kəwi·péntoməna/; Ps /kəwihpetópen/.

PA /\*newi.hpe.ma.wa/ 'I sleep with him';  
 F /newi.hpe.ma.wa/; C /niwi.hpe.ma.w/; M  
 /newe.hpemaw/; O /niwi.ppe.ma./; uD  
 /nəwi.pé.ma/; Ps /nəwihpéma/.

This Powhatan form shows that the inflection  
 for the AI first person plural inclusive is /ke—men/,  
 agreeing with Delaware and Massachusee.

## 193. SLOWWORM

See LIZARD, (entry 117).

## 194. SMALLPOX

- (a) /nemamiminiss/ 'I have smallpox'.  
 (b) nummamemennaus "pox" (H12)  
 (c) As if pseudo-PA /\*ne-mam-i-min-i-?le/ 'I change  
 to a condition of lumpy grains'. The final with  
 the AI 3 sg. ending is PA /\*-?le.-wa/ 'go,  
 change, proceed, fly'.

Disease terms deserve further study in Algonquian  
 for there seems to have been extensive borrowing  
 from language to language. There is pseudo-PA  
 /\*mamaθkesiwa/ 'he has smallpox'; M  
 /mama.hkesew/; O /mamakkisi/; S /mam?kiθi/.

195. SMELL  
(PERCEIVE  
ODOR)

- (a) /nemera.ma.w/ (TA) 'I smell him',  
 /nemera.nta.n/ (TI) 'I smell it'.  
 (b) numeramuw "smell" (H13), nummeraantaan  
 "strew or cast" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*nemela.ma.wa/ (TA) 'I smell him, perceive  
 his odor'; C /nimiya.ma.w/; M /nemε.na.ma.w/;  
 O /nimina.ma./; S /nimela.wa/; mD  
 /nəmélá.wa.w/, with different final in S and  
 mD.

PA /\*nemela.nta.ni/ (TI) 'I smell it'; C  
 /nimiya.hte.n/; M /nemε.na.htan/; O  
 /nimina.nta.n/; S /nimela.ta/ (S is in TI  
 absolute form); Powhatan /nemera.nta.n/.

## 196. SNAKE

- (a) /asko.k/ 'snake', /kehtasko.k/ 'large snake',  
 /ta.tasko.k/ 'crab' (?).  
 (b) keihtascooc "adder" (H2), tuttascuk "crab" (H4),

vscook 'fine or small thread' (H6). Most of Strachey's meanings seem inaccurate.

- (c) PEA /\*aθko·ka/ 'snake'; P (and all EA dialects) /skok/, pl. /skðkak/, taskok; uD /xko·k/; mD /áxko·k/; Np /skok/, (Mathevet p. 53 sc8g 'serpent', pl. sc8gak); Ms /askook/ (John 3:14, Psalm 58:4, Eliot askook, Mayhew ashkook; in his grammar Eliot gives the pl. as askookquog, which, if correct, is analogical and does not correspond with the other languages).

PEA /\*kehtaθko·ka/ 'large snake' is a compound of PEA /\*keht-/ from PA /\*ke't-/ 'big, great, old' (Bl46, p. 89).

Powhatan /ta·tasko·k/ 'crab' (?) whether the meaning is correct or not, seems to attest the root /ta·t-/ from PA /\*θa·θ-/ 'crack, rift' (see CRACK, entry 61).

197. SNAKE  
(SPECIES)

- (a) /sa·ssa·kanaw/ genus Pituophis (?), perhaps the pine snake of the pine barrens, pl. /sa·ssa·kanawak/.
- (b) sassaconuwak 'adder' (H2), (actually pl.)
- (c) PA /\*ša·hša·kanawa/ 'snake species' (genus Pituophis); S /ša'ša·kanawe'θi/ dimin. 'bullsnake' (Pituophis melanoleucus sayi, which does not occur east of the Ohio Valley); Powhatan /sa·ssa·kanaw/. Root PA /\*ša·hša·k-/ 'bare, naked' and noun final /\*-anaw-/ 'fox snake', extended root and deverbal of root /\*anw-/ , M /anuah/ 'fox snake'.  
PA /\*ša·hša·k-/ 'naked, bare'; C /sa·sa·k-/;  
M /sa·hsak-/; O /ša·šša·k-/; S /ša'ša·k-/;  
Powhatan /sa·ssa·k-/.

198. SNOW

- (a) /ko·n/ 'snow'.
- (b) coaṇ 'snow' (H13)
- (c) PA /\*ko·na/ 'snow', AN in most languages;  
F /ako·ni/ with prothetic vowel and INAN, pl.

/ako.nani/ 'snowballs, lumps of snow'; C /ko.na/; M /ko.n/, pl. /ku.nyak/ 'lumps of snow', with analogic /y/; O /ko.n/ and /ako.n/ AN, the latter with prothetic vowel as in Fox; S /ko.na/; D (all dialects) /ko.n/; Pq /kon/; Ms /kon/, AN with obv. /konah/, (Eliot and Mayhew, Psalm 51:7, 68:14, 147:16, koon and obv. koonoh).

## 199. SOUL

- (a) /nečehča.k/ 'my soul' AN.  
 (b) netshetsauk 'soul or vital breath of man' (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*neteʔčya.kwa/ 'my soul' (a dependent noun in some languages as in M); C /nitahča.k/, /otahča.kwa/ 'his soul'; M /netɛ.ʔčyak/, and with indefinite possessor /metɛ.ʔčyak/ 'soul', pl. /metɛ.ʔčyakok/; O /ničičča.k/, /očičča.kwan/ 'his soul'; Powhatan /nečehča.k/.

Reshaped nondependent forms are S /ničeča.laʔkw/ 'my soul' and P /nəčəčahk<sup>w</sup>/, [čəčahkw]. In Penobscot there is a progressive metathesis of /h/, so that there is preaspiration of /kw/ rather than /č/.

## 200. SPIT

- (a) /sehko.w/ (AI) 'he spits', /sehkwan/ 'spittle'.  
 (b) secoū 'spit' (H13), tsehgwun 'spit' (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*sehkwiwa/ (AI) 'he spits'; F /sehkwiwa/; C /sihko.w/; M /sehko.w/; O /sikkwi/ or /sikko./; Ms /səhko/, (Eliot suhkou Mark 7:33).

PA /\*nesehkwa.θa.wa/ (TA) 'I spit on him'; F /nesehkwa.na.wa/; C /nisihkwa.ta.w/; M /nesɛ.hkwanaw/; O /nisikkwa.na./.

## 201. SPOON

- (a) /e.mko.n/ 'spoon, ladle'.  
 (b) ampkone 'frying pan' (H2), hamkone 'ladle' (H7)  
 (c) PA /\*e.mehkwa.na/ 'ladle, spoon'; F /e.mehkwa.hi/ dimin.; C /e.mihkwa.n/ AN; M /ɛ.meskwan/ with discrepant cluster /sk/ for expected /\*hk/ as in SHORT (see entry 186);



O /e·mikkwa·n/ INAN; S /e·m<sup>?</sup>kwa/, pl.  
/e·m<sup>?</sup>kwa·naki/; P /ẽmk<sup>w</sup>an/, pl. /ẽmk<sup>w</sup>anak/,  
|eməhkwan|; uD /e·mhó·nəs/ AN; mD  
/e·mhwá·nəs/ AN.

## 202. SQUIRREL

- (a) /messani·k/ 'gray squirrel', or 'black squirrel'  
(a melanistic phase of the same species).  
(b) moussonike "squirrel" (H10), mussanek "squirrel"  
H14)  
(c) PA /\*me<sup>?</sup>θanyikwa/ 'gray' or 'black squirrel';  
(Menomini has /mẽ<sup>?</sup>sena·wanik/ 'gray squirrel'  
which is the same form except that it is com-  
pounded with the medial /\*-inaw-/ 'body'); O  
/missanik/, pl. /missaniko·k/; uD /xáni·kw/  
for expected /\*məxani·kw/; Np /mæssanikw/,  
(Mathevet pp. 6, 106 misanig<sup>8</sup>ẽ "écureuil noir",  
pl. misanig<sup>8</sup>ak); Ms and Nr /mæssanik/, pl.  
/mæssanikwak/, (Roger Williams mishánneke,  
Cotton mishannek, pl. mishannekwog).

203. SQUIRREL  
(FLYING)

- (a) /assapani·k/ 'flying squirrel' (i. e., "net  
squirrel", see NET, entry 139)  
(b) assapanick "flying squirrel" (Smith), aiossapan<sup>y</sup>k  
"flying squirrel" (H6)  
(c) Pseudo-PA /\*a<sup>?</sup>lapanyikwa/ 'flying squirrel'.

## 204. STAR

- (a) /ata·nkwess/ dimin. AN 'star', pl.  
/ata·nkwessak/.  
(b) attaangwassowk "star" (H14), (actually pl.)  
(c) PA /\*aθa·nkwa/ 'star' (B125, Lang. 1:138);  
F /ana·kwa/; C /ata·hk/, and /ača·hk/ with  
diminutive symbolism; M /ana·h/, pl. /ana·hkok/;  
O (some dialects) /ana·nk/; S /ala·kwa/; mD  
/alá·nkew/ with reshaped ending. Powhatan  
points to a long second vowel also, and since  
Unami Delaware shortens all long vowels before  
/\*nk/ clusters, uD /álankw/ 'star' is in-  
determinate. However, some languages seem

to reflect a short second vowel as if PA /\*aθankwa/;  
C (Swampy Cree) /ačahk/ and dimin. /ačahkos/;  
O (some dialects) /anank/, pl. /ananko.k/; Ms  
/anakws/, pl. /anakwsak/, (Eliot Psalm 136:9  
anogqsog "stars"); Np /alakws/, (Mathevet p. 9  
alagšs); WA /alakws/.

## 205. STEAL

- (a) /kemo.to.w/ (AI) 'he steals (something)'.  
(b) commotoowh "steal" (H14)  
(c) PA /\*kemo.twiwa/ (AI) 'he steals (something)';  
F /kemo.twa/; C /kimotiw/; M /kemo.tew/  
(Menomini Language 2. 58, 2. 60, given wrongly  
elsewhere); O /kimo.ti/; S /kimo.twa/; P  
/kəmotəne/, ending reshaped with PA /\*-en-/  
'by hand'. Several languages have reshaped  
the final, Fox and Shawnee by reduction; and  
Cree has the second vowel short.

Powhatan /kemo.to.w/ and Ms /kəmoto/ (Eliot  
kommooto; kummootowog "they steal" Matthew  
6:20) posit /\*kemo.twiwa/; otherwise a less likely  
archetype is /\*kemo.twa/ following Fox and  
Shawnee. An unerring solution is not certain.  
Reduction does occur in Shawnee, as in PA  
/\*wexkwe.wa/ 'maggot' > S /oʔkwa/, for  
which see WORM, entry 248.

## 206. STRAWBERRY

- (a) /maski.hki.wimin/ INAN 'strawberry', pl.  
/maski.hki.wiminas/  
(b) muskeskiwimins "strawberries" (H10) (I assume  
the second s of Strachey to be an error for h)  
(c) PEA /\*maškyihkyiwimin-a/ 'strawberry'; P  
/mskíhkəwimin/ AN, pl. /mskíhkəwíminak/.  
This is derived from:

PA /\*maškyihkyiwi/ 'herb, grassy plant';  
F /maškihkiwi/; C /maskihkiy/; M  
/maski.hkiw/; O /mašikki/, pl. /mašikkiwan/;  
P /mskíhko/ 'blade of grass, herb, grassy

plant', pl. /mskihkwəl/, [maskihkiw].

## 207. STRIKE

- (a) /nepakama.w/ (TA) 'I strike him'.
- (b) nepacamaŭ "strike with a sword" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*nepakama.wa/ 'I strike him' (B146, p. 113);  
F /nepakama.wa/; M /nepa.kamaw/; P  
/nəpákama/; mD /mpákama.w/.

## 208. STRIP

- (a) /peri.w/ (II) 'it is torn off, stripped'.
- (b) perew "broken or cracked" (H3), perewh "naught, broken or cracked" (H11)
- (c) Root PA /\*pel-/ 'strip, remove surface, tear off'; F /pen-/ (F /peninawi.wa/ 'he undresses');  
C /piy-/ (C /piyawew/ 'he scales him [a fish]'); S /pel-/ (S /nipeleše.na/ 'I ripped the seam of it', /peleše.tone/ 'he has his mouth torn up at the sides'). This more commonly appears with a postradical:

PA /\*pelak-/ 'peel, husk'; C /piyak-/ (C /piyakinam/ 'he peels it'); O /pinak-/ (O /pinaki.ška-/ 'the skin peels off' (II), (TA) /opinakikkona.n/ 'he peels him'); P /pəlak-/ (P /pəlahíhatahso/ 'he hulls, husks corn').

## 209. SUN (1)

- (a) /ki.so.ss/ 'sun' AN
- (b) keshowghes "sun" (Smith), keshowse "sun" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*ki.seʔəwa/ 'sun, moon, luminary, month' AN; F /ki.šeswa/, pl. /ki.šeso.k/ 'months';  
M /ke.soʔ/, pl. /ke.soʔnak/ 'sun and moon, luminaries, months'; O /ki.siss/; S /ki.šəwa/;  
P /kísohs/, pl. /kísohsak/ 'months'; D (all dialects) /ki.šo.x/; Mh /ki.so.x/; Np /kisos/ (Mathevet p. 9 kiz8s, kis8s "soleil"); Mi /ki.lʔswa/. The /š/ in the F, S, and D forms is probably analogical, and the Miami term seems to show that metathesis of /\*s/ and /\*θ/ occurred, as Haas has suggested (Nat. Mus. of Canada Bul. 214:60-65, Ottawa, 1967).

210. SUN (2)
- (a) /nepass/ 'sun' AN, of a different Powhatan dialect.
  - (b) nepausche 'sun' (H10)
  - (c) PEA /\*nepahθ/, as if pseudo-PA /\*nepaʔθwa/ (?); Ms /nəpas/, (Eliot and Mayhew, Psalm 19:4 nepauz; Psalm 74:16 nepauz; Psalm 121:6 Eliot nuppáuz and Mayhew nuppaz); Nr /nəpas/, (Roger Williams nuppaúus 'sun'); Powhatan /nepass/.
211. SWALLOW
- (a) /kwentamo·w/ (AI) 'he swallows', /nekontamen/ (TI) 'I swallow it'.
  - (b) necoondameñ 'it is good meat' (H7), quantamū 'swallow' (H14)
  - (c) PEA /\*kwentamwiwa/ 'he swallows' (AI formed from an objectless-TI); compare P /k<sup>w</sup>əsihátamo/ (AI) 'he swallows'.
- PA /\*kwentamwa/ 'he swallows it' (TI absolute); F /kotamwa/; C /kohtam/; M /ko·htam/; O /okonta·n/ (TI objective); S /kotamwa/; compare Mi /kwentama·ni/ 'I swallow it'.
- PEA /\*nekwentameni/ (TI) 'I swallow it'; Powhatan /nekontamen/; uD /nkwántamən/.
212. SWAN See HERON
213. SWEEP
- (a) /či·kkahike·w/ (AI) 'he sweeps'. See BROOM
  - (b) tsekehica 'sweep' (H14)
  - (c) PEA /\*či·kehkahike·wa/ 'he sweeps'; P /čikkáhike/; Powhatan /či·kkahike·w/. Compare PA /\*či·katahike·wa/ 'he sweeps'; M /če·katahekəw/; O /či·kataʔike·/.
214. TAIL  
(OF BIRD)
- (a) /otani·ss/ 'his (bird's) tail', dimin. INAN.
  - (b) otanneis 'train of a bird' (H14)
  - (c) PA /\*-aθanyi/ 'bird tail', INAN dependent noun; PA /\*waθanyi/ 'his (bird's) tail'; C /wataniy/, pl. /wataniya/; M /wana·n/, pl. /wana·nyan/, dependent stem /-ana·ny/ (see Bl. Menom. Lang.

18.1); P /wálanəss/ dimin. , pl. /walánəssal/;  
 Ms /wanani/ (Eliot wananeyeuash "their tails",  
 Revelations 9:19). Powhatan and some Cree  
 dialects, following the ancient variation of PA  
 /\*a/: /\*e/ have restructured the form as a  
 nondependent noun, as though PA /\*weθanyi/;  
 C (Swampy Cree) /otaniy/. The diminutive form  
 is:

PA /\*waθanyehši/ 'his small (bird's) tail';  
 P /wálanəss/; Powhatan /otani.ss/. See EAGLE.

## 215. TAIL

- (a) /wesekwan/ or /osekwan/ 'his tail', INAN.  
 Used for fish and mammals.
- (b) wushagwan "single of a deer" (H13), wushaqwun  
 "tail of anything" (H14)
- (c) PA /\*-šekwanayi/ or /\*-šekwani/ 'fish tail',  
 INAN dependent noun; C, P, and Np reflect the  
 first variant, and F, M, O, and Ms the second  
 archetype. The Eastern Algonquian languages  
 have generalized the meaning to varying degrees,  
 originally confined to the tail of fishes and limited  
 to this sense in F, C, M, and O.

PA /\*wešekwanayi/ or /\*wešekwani/ 'his  
 (fish's) tail'; F /ošekwani/, pl. /ošekwanani/;  
 C /osikwanay/; M /osɛ.kwan/ and /osɛ.kwanan/  
 INAN and AN (M /nesɛ.kwan/ 'my [fish's] tail');  
 O /ošikwan/; P /wə̀sək<sup>w</sup>əne/, l-səkʷənay| ,  
 /nə̀sək<sup>w</sup>əne/ 'my tail'; Ms /wəsəkʷən/, (Eliot  
wussukqun "his tail" Job 40:17, Isaiah 9:14);  
 Np /wəsəkʷəna/, (Mathevet p. 35 8ssig8na  
 "queue de bette a quatre pieds ou des poissons").

## 216. TAKE

- (a) /nemamen/ (TI) 'I take it, pick it up', /omamen/  
 'he takes it, picks it up'.
- (b) mammun "take hold of anything" (H4) (pronominal  
 prefix missing), nummaumen "pull" (H12),  
vummaumun "take up" (H14)

- (c) PA /\*nemameni/ (TI objective, class 3) 'I take it, I pick it up'; F /nemameni/ (/mamiwa/ 'he takes it'); M /nema.men/ (/mamuah/ 'he takes it'); O /nimamo.n/, with ending reshaped; S /nimame/; Mi /nimame/; Powhatan /nemamen/.  
PA /\*nemamawa.wa/ (TA) 'I take it from him'; F /nemamawa.wa/; M /nema.muawa.w/; O /nimamawa./; S /nimamawa/.
217. TAKE FROM THERE
- (a) /ontenass/ 'take (thou) it, them (INAN) from there' (2 person sg. TI class 1 imperative), /o.ntenamen/ (TI) 'he takes it from there'.  
(b) vntenugh 'take it' (H14), vndensc 'take it' (H15)  
(c) PA /\*wentenanlwe/, PEA-A /\*wentenanθwe/ 'take (thou) it, them (INAN) from there' (2 person sg. TI class 1 imper.); F /otenano/; C /ohtinah/; M /ohte.nah/; O /ontinan/; P /wètəne'/; mD /wéntənah/. Penobscot imperatives form a partly altered paradigm. The Powhatan form follows the PEA-A pattern.  
PA /\*wentenamwa/ (TI absolute) 'he takes it from there' (B146); F /otenamwa/; C /ohtinam/; M /ohte.nam/.
218. TASTE GOOD
- (a) /wi.nkan/ (II) 'it tastes good'.  
(b) wingan 'good' (H7), wingañ 'good' (H15)  
(c) PA /\*wi.nkanwi/ (II) 'it tastes good'; M /we.hkan/; S /wi.kanwi/; uD /wínkan/; Mh /wi.kan/; Nr /wikan/ (Roger Williams weékan 'it is sweet').
219. TERRAPIN
- (a) /to.repe.w/ 'terrapin', English loan from Powhatan, 'sea turtle, loggerhead' (genus Caretta), the chief reference. The loggerhead nests on the southern Atlantic coast as far north as the southern end of Chesapeake Bay, and strays northward to the coasts of New England and Newfoundland. Pl. /to.repe.wak/.

- (b) towruppewk 'sea turtle' (H14), (actually pl.)
- (c) PEA /\*to·lepye·wa/ 'loggerhead' (genus Caretta), 'sea turtle, terrapin' (original PEA meaning, later generalized in many Eastern Algonquian languages to include all species of large turtles); P /tòlape/ 'turtle, tortoise', as a general term, pl. /tòlapak/, (P /kčí·tolape/ 'loggerhead', or other species of 'sea turtle'); Mh /to·npaw/, |to·nepaw|; mD /tó·lpew/; uD /tó·lpe/; Ms /tonəp/, dimin. /tonəpas/, (Eliot toonuppasog 'tortoise' pl. dimin., Leviticus 11:29); Unquachog (Long Island, Siebert in July 1932) /tórəp/ 'sea turtle, loggerhead'.
220. TESTICLE
- (a) /netessiwe./ 'my testicle' AN, /otessiwah/ 'his testicle(s)' as an obv. sg. or pl.
- (b) vtshewwah 'stones of any male thing' (H14)
- (c) PA /\*-θeʔšiwaya/ 'testicle', AN dependent noun (Michelson 35; with revisions and additions); PA /\*neθeʔšiwaya/ 'my testicle'; F /nenešiwā/; C /nitisiway/; M /neneʔseway/; S /nilʔšiwe/, pl. /nileʔši.ki/; Powhatan /netessiwe./, pl. /netessiwak/.
221. THIGH (1)
- (a) /opo·m/ 'his thigh', /nepo·m/ 'my thigh'.
- (b) apome 'thigh' (H2)
- (c) PA /\*-pwa·mi/ 'thigh', INAN dependent noun; PA /\*nepwa·mi/ 'my thigh'; C /nipwa·m/; M /nepuam/, pl. /nepuamyan/ 'my thighs', with analogic /y/; O /nipwa·m/, pl. /nipwa·man/; Mi /nipwa·mi/, pl. /nipwa·ma/; S /nipwa·mi/, pl. /nipwa·mali/; uD /mpo·m/, pl. /mpó·ma/; Powhatan /nepo·m/.
222. THIGH (2)
- (a) /wi·kkway/ 'his thigh', pl. /wi·kkwas/ 'his thighs', INAN, of a different Powhatan dialect.
- (b) wýkgwaus 'thigh' (H14), (actually pl.)
- (c) PEA /\*-i·kahkwayi/ 'thigh', INAN dependent

noun; PEA /\*wi.kahkwayi/ 'his thigh'; P /wikk<sup>w</sup>e/, pl. /wikk<sup>w</sup>al/, |-ikahkway| (P /nikk<sup>w</sup>e/ 'my thigh', pl. /nikk<sup>w</sup>al/); Powhatan /wi.kkway/, pl. /wi.kkwas/.

## 223. THROAT

- (a) /wekwenta.kan/ or /okwenta.kan/ 'his throat', /nekwenta.kan/ 'my throat'. See SWALLOW, entry 211.
- (b) vegwantaa "throat" (H14) (I assume that Strachey omitted the end of the word by writing error.)
- (c) PA /\*kwenta.kani/ 'throat', /\*nekwenta.kani/ 'my throat'; F /nekota.kani/; C /nikohta.kan/; M /neko.htakan/; O /nikonta.kan/; S /nikota.ka/; P /nək<sup>w</sup>ətakan/; uD /nkwəntá.k.an/.

## 224. THUMB

- (a) /okehtekwayetenč/ 'his thumb'.
- (b) vketeqwaiutteindg "thumb" (H14)
- (c) Pseudo-PEA /\*wekehtekwayeθenčyi/ formed with a medial, otherwise similar to PA /\*neke<sup>?</sup>teθenčyi/ 'my thumb'; M /neke.<sup>?</sup>čeneh/, pl. /neke.<sup>?</sup>čeneh.hčyan/; O /níkiččíninč/; uD /nki.tələnč/ AN, pl. /nki.tələnčak/.

## 225. TOOTH

- (a) /ni.pit/ 'a tooth, someone's tooth', /ni.pit/ 'my tooth', pl. /ni.pitas/ 'my teeth'.
- (b) mepit "teeth" (H10), actually sg., neputts "tooth" (H11), actually pl., "my teeth".
- (c) PA /\*-i.piči/ 'tooth' INAN, pl. /\*-i.pitali/ 'teeth', dependent noun (B146, p. 119); PA /\*ni.piči/ 'my tooth', pl. /\*ni.pitali/ 'my teeth'; F /ni.piči/, pl. /ni.pitani/; C /ni.pit/, pl. /ni.pita/; M /ne.pet/, pl. /ne.petan/; O /ni.pit/, pl. /ni.pitan/; S /ni.piči/, pl. /ni.pitali/; P /nṣpit/, pl. /nṣpita/; Mh /ni.pit/, pl. /ni.pitan/.

## 226. TREE

- (a) /mehtek/ 'tree', pl. /mehtekok/; /mehtekos/ 'sticks', /mehtekwins/ 'little stick'.
- (b) meihtuc "tree" (H14), metucs "bridge" (H3),



mehtacouc "stalk" (H14), actually pl. , mehteqweins  
"grass" (H7)

- (c) PA /\*meʔtekwa/ 'tree', pl. /\*meʔteko.ki/; but  
PA /\*meʔtekwi/ 'stick' (B146); F /mehtekwi/  
'tree', pl. /mehteko.ni/; C /mistik/; M  
/meʔtek/ 'tree' AN, pl. /meʔtekwak/; O /mittik/,  
pl. /mittiko.k/; S /meʔtekwi/ 'tree', pl.  
/mteko/; uD /hít.okw/, pl. /hítko.k/; mD  
/míhtək/, pl. /míhtəkwaʔ/; Mh /míhto.kw/;  
Ms /mihtək/, pl. /mihtəkwaʔ/, (Eliot mehtug  
"tree", mehtugquash "trees" Psalm 105:33, and  
Grammar).

## 227. TUBER

See GROUNDNUT, (entry 100).

## 228. TUCKAHOE

- (a) /takwahahk/ 'green arum' (plant or root),  
'tuckahoe', the latter an English loan from  
Powhatan (Peltandra virginica, (L.) Schott and  
Endlicher, the root of which is inedible in raw  
state, but when baked is used for breadstuff  
and as a starchy vegetable), /takwahapo.n/  
'bread made of green arum root or tuckahoe',  
pl. /takwahapo.nas/ 'loaves of tuckahoe  
bread'. See BREAD, (entry 38).
- (b) tockwhogh, tocknough, tockawhoughe "chief  
root they have for food . . . like a flag in low  
muddy freshes . . . of the greatness and taste  
of potatoes . . . raw it is no better than  
poison . . . roasted . . . in summer they use  
this ordinarily for bread" (Smith), taccahoappoans  
"bread made of a wort called —" (H3)
- (c) The root is PA /\*takw-/ 'pound fine, bray, beat  
to a powder' found in identical form in C, O,  
S, Mi, D, Mh, Np, and Powhatan. This is  
homophonous with and perhaps related by  
semantic extension to the PA root /\*takw-/  
'among or between two particulars, together'

(see FROST, entry 91). Following this is the transitive INAN final or instrumental PA /\*-ah-/ 'by instrument or tool' and the noun final PEA /\*-ahkw-i/ 'taproot, bole, large root and trunk' (see ROOT, entry 170), as if pseudo-PEA /\*takwahahkw-i/ 'green arum, tuckahoe'. Other examples are:

PA /\*takwahamwa/ (TI absolute) 'he pounds it fine, brays it, beats it to a powder by tool'; C /takwaham/; O /otakwa'a-n/, TI objective; Mi /takwahamwa/; uD /takšham/; Np /takwham/, (Mathevet nitak8am "je pile" pp. 90, 93).

PA /\*netakwahwa-wa/ (TA) 'I pound him (maize) fine, beat him to a powder by tool'; C /nitakwahwa-w/; O /nitakwawa-/ (when /\*w/ of the transitive AN instrumental final (PA /\*-ahw-/ 'by instrument or tool') is not merged with a following /\*e/ to /o/, Ojibwa drops the preceeding /ʔ/ from PA /\*h/, for which see Bl46, footnote 14, p. 114); S /nitakhwa/ 'I pound him (maize) for bread' (haplologic for expected S /\*nitakwahwa/).

PA /\*takwahwa-na/ originally 'bread baked from flour prepared from the root of Peltandra virginica', later extended in some languages (Shawnee, Mahican) to mean also 'bread made from corn meal or pounded maize'; S /takhwa/ 'bread', pl. /takhwa-na/ 'loaves of bread', |takwahwa-n|; Mh /tkwax/, |takwax|, /ntákwxam/ 'my bread', pl. /tkwáxak/ 'loaves of bread', /wtákwxaman/ 'his bread'. The distribution of the green arum from Florida and Texas northward to southern Maine and New Hampshire, and to northern New York and southern Ontario, together with the linguistic

evidence, suggests that the roots were used for breadstuff among the Algonquian peoples before the introduction of maize.

## 229. TURKEY

- (a) /mo·nesse·w/ 'turkey cock'.
- (b) monnagh 'turkey' (H10), monassaw 'turkey' (H15)
- (c) PEA /\*mo·nehle·wa/ 'turkey cock' from PA  
/\*mo·n-/ 'dig into, scratch out' and noun final  
PA /\*·?le·w-a/ 'bird'; Ms /monəšš/ 'cock',  
(Eliot monsh, Mayhew monish 'cock' John 13:38,  
18:27); Powhatan /mo·nesse·w/.

## 230. UNDERSTAND

- (a) /nenenohtawa·w/ 'I understand him', /kenenohto·s/  
'I understand thee', /mata kenenohto·ro·w/ 'I  
do not understand thee'.
- (b) kennenautows 'I understand well' (H15), mata  
kennenutorowh 'I understand not' (H15)
- (c) PA /\*nenenohtawa·wa/ 'I understand him (his  
speech)'; F /nenenohtawa·wa/; M /nenə·nohtawa·w/;  
S /nineno?tawa/; Powhatan /nenenohtawa·w/.  
PA /\*kenenohto·θe/ 'I understand thee'; F  
/kenenohto·ne/; M /kenə·nohtonen/; S  
/kineno?to·le/; Powhatan /kenenohto·s/.

The Powhatan negative /mata kenenohto·ro·w/ results from a late analogical restoration of /r/ as the projected source of alternant /s/, by analogy to the much more commonly used positive form /kenenohto·s/, subsequent to the falling together of /\*θ/ and /\*t/ to /t/ in Powhatan and the change of /\*l/ to /r/.

## 231. URINATE

- (a) /sekiw/ 'he urinates'.
- (b) shekyu 'piss' (H12)
- (c) PA /\*šekiwa/ 'he urinates' (B125, Lang. 1.146);  
F /šekiwa/; C /sikiw/; M /seke·w/; S /šekiwa/;  
P /səko/, |səkiw|.

## 232. VAGINA

- (a) /meta·ske·/ 'vagina', /neta·ske·/ 'my vagina'.
- (b) muttask 'woman's secret' (H5)

- (c) PA /\*-θa.çkaya/ (?) 'vagina', dependent noun, with /\*θ/ not proven; C /mita.hkay/ 'vagina', /nita.hkay/ 'my vagina'.
233. VINE
- (a) /wa.pa.pe.mins/ 'vine' (species ?, perhaps the scuppernong (Vitis rotundifolia Michaux) with cream-colored grapes), pl. /wa.pa.pe.minsas/
- (b) wapapamindgas "vine" (H15), actually pl.
- (c) Pseudo-PA as if /\*wa.pa.pye.minšyi/ "white vine bush"; from PA /\*wa.p-/ 'white'; PA /\*-a.pye.-/ 'string, vine'; and PA /\*-eminšy-/ 'drupe-bearing bush or tree'. Compare F /ki.wa.pye.hi/ 'creeping vine'.
234. WALNUT
- (a) /assena.mins/ 'black walnut tree' (?), more probably the 'mockernut hickory tree'; /asseni.na.ns/ 'mockernuts' (?); /paka.ns/ 'black walnuts' (?), pl.
- (b) assunnomeindg "walnut tree" (H14), assinenans "walnut" (H15), paucauns "walnut" (H15)
- (c) PA /\*a'sena.minšya/ 'rock or sugar maple tree'; F /asena.miši/, pl. /asena.mišye.ni/; O /assina.mi.šš/; mD /asená.minši/, pl. /asəna.mínšəyak/. The sugar maple is not found near Jamestown, consequently this PA term was transferred to some other species, possibly the mockernut hickory. The noun root formative is:
- PA /\*a'senyi/ 'rock, stone' (given as AN by Bloomfield, B125, Lang. l. 139, l. 149, and B146, p. 93, as /\*a'senya/, largely following Cree and Menomini); F /aseni/, pl. /asenyē.ni/; C /asiniy/, pl. /asiniyak/; M /a'sən/, pl. /a'sənyak/; O /assin/, pl. /assini.n/ INAN in Eastern Ojibwa, but AN, pl. /assini.k/ in Central, Western and Northern Ojibwa; but INAN in all Eastern Algonquian languages, WA /ssən/, pl. /ssənal/; Ms /assən/, (Eliot Grammar

hassun 'stone', pl. hussunash); mD /asón/, pl. /asónal/. The final is PA /\*-eminšy-/ 'drupe-bearing bush or tree'.

For /paka·ns/ or /paka·nas/ 'large nuts, black walnuts' (?), see NUT, entry 143.

## 235. WASH

- (a) /kesi·nkwe·w/ 'he washes his face',  
/kesi·tenče·w/ 'he washes his hands'.
- (b) keseigwaa 'wash the face' (H15), with prestop n omitted by Strachey (see CHINQUAPIN, entry 48), keseitendcheo 'wash the hands' (H15)
- (c) PA /\*kesi·nkwe·wa/ 'he washes his face'; F /kesi·kwe·wa/; O /kisi·nkwe·/ 'he wipes his face'; P /kəssik<sup>w</sup>·e/; Powhatan /kesi·nkwe·w/.  
PA /\*kesi·θenčye·wa/ 'he washes his hands'; F /kesi·neče·wa/; O /kesi·ninči·/ 'he wipes his hands'; S /kiθi·leče/; P /kəssiləče/; uD /kəši·lónče/; Powhatan /kesi·tenče·w/.

## 236. WATER

- (a) /nepi/ 'water'.
- (b) neppe 'wet' (H15)
- (c) PA /\*nepyi/ 'water' (B146, p. 93); F /nepi/; C /nipiy/; M /nepe·w/ with reshaped ending; O /nipi/; S /nepi/; P /nəpi/, pl. /nəpəyal, |nəpiy|.

237. WATER  
RECEDES

- (a) /wenseskat/ 'the water recedes, flows back, ebbs', negative /mata wenseskato·w/ 'the water does not ebb'.
- (b) seiscatuwh 'ebbing water' (H5) (evidently a negative form, with the first part missing),  
wenssicket 'running brook' (H15)
- (c) PEA /\*wensexkatwi/ (II) 'the water level goes down, the water ebbs or recedes, the current or water flows back or out, there is a condition of receding water'; P /wəsihkat/, |wəsəhkat|. The morphemes are: PA root /\*went-/ 'from there' (for the irregular alternation of PA /\*t/: /\*s/

before /\*a./ and /\*e/ see B146, Section 21, p. 92); the PA medial /\*-exk-/ 'flood, high water' deverbial from PA root /\*lexk-/ given below; and the II final PA /\*-atwi/ 'state, condition'.

PA /\*lexkepye.wi/ (II) 'it is flooded, under water; there is a flood, the water level rises'; C /yiskipe.w/; O /nikkipi./; P /nkəpe/, |nəhkəpe|. Root /\*lexk-/ and the deverbial /\*-exk-/ are not to be confused with the following:

PA /\*eçka?te.wi/ (II) 'it (body of water) dries up'; F /aškahte.wi/; C /ihkaste.w/; M /ehka.?təw/; O /iskatte./. Here the final is the PA II reflexive /\*-a?te.wi/ 'be in place, lie in position'.

238. WEED  
(SEAWEED)

- (a) /a.skarask/ 'seaweed', pl. /a.skaraskwas/ 'seaweeds'.
- (b) ascarasqwus "seaweeds" (H13)
- (c) PEA /\*a.škalaškw- / or /\*a.škalenšyi/ 'seaweed, weed growing under water'; Powhatan /a.skarask/ following the first, and P /áskaləsi/ 'seaweed' (general term), pl. /askáləsəyal/, |askaləsiy| the second, which differ only as to noun finals. Massachusee at least has the same term without a medial in Ms /askaskw/ 'meadow or water (?) grass', (Eliot askoshq, Mayhew askasquash "grass" pl., Psalm 72:16; the usual word in Ms being moskeht "grass, herb" Eliot Grammar, from PA /\*maškyihkyiwi/ 'herb, grassy plant' for which see STRAWBERRY, entry 206). The morphemes of /\*a.škalaškw- are: PA root /\*a.šk-/ 'downward, below' (F /a.šk-/ , P |ask|); medial PEA /\*-al-/ 'water' (? , meaning uncertain); and noun final PA /\*-aškw-/ 'herb, plant'. The other form is:

PEA /\*a.škalenšyi/; P /áskaləsi/ with PA noun final /\*-enšy-i/ 'weed' which occurs as: C /-isiy/ (C /asisiy/ INAN 'seaweed, grass growing under water'); M /-ehsy- / (M /wasε.hsyān/ pl. 'water weeds', see Menom. Lang. 14.190, 14.213); O /-inšy- / (O /aninawi.nš/ 'milkweed'); Mi /-enšy- / (Mi /ke.kkenša/ 'weed', pl. /ke.kkenši.ki/, Mi /leninši/ 'milkweed', pl. /leninša/); P |-əsiy|.

239. WHISKER See BEARD, (entry 22).
240. WHISTLE (a) /kwi.skwesso.w/ 'he whistles'.  
 (b) qweisgwesuŵ "whistle" (H15)  
 (c) PA /\*kwi.škwehšwiwa/ (AI) 'he whistles'; C /kwi.skosiw/; M /ki.skihsow/ 'he whistles a call or signal'; O /kwi.škwišši/; P /k<sup>w</sup>ík<sup>w</sup>so/, [kwikwəhsiw], reshaped without /sk/ cluster by dissimilation (?); Powhatan /kwi.skwesso.w/.
241. WHITE (a) /a.pe.w/ and with dialect variation /wa.pe.w/ (II) 'it is white'.  
 (b) opaivwh "white" (H15)  
 (c) PEA /\*wa.pe.wi/ (II) 'it is white' (PA root /\*wa.p-/ 'white' (B125, B146); PA probably also had /\*wa.pe.wi/ since a Cree form agrees with Eastern Algonquian, and Bloomfield's (B146, p. 121) PA /\*wa.peškye.wi/ 'it is white' is either merely concurrent or a new formation of some antiquity; C /wa.pa.w/, Mt /wa.pa.w/, with the ancient alternation /\*a./: /\*e./ before /\*w/ leveled out as usual in Cree (see B146, Section 35, p. 98); mD /wá.pe.w/; uD /ṣ.p.e.w/; Mh /wá.payo/; Pq /wapáyo/; Powhatan /a.pe.w/ or /wa.pe.w/.
242. WICOPY See BAST, (entry 21).
243. WIFE (a) /wi.wah/ 'his wife or wives' (obv. sg. and pl.), /mata wi.wiw/ 'he does not have a wife'.

- (b) wiowah 'husband' (H8), with meaning error,  
mata wiowȳh 'a bachelor' (H2)
- (c) PA /\*-i.wa/ 'wife' dependent noun; PA /\*ni.wa/ 'my wife'; PA /\*wi.wali/ 'his wife' and /\*wi.wahi/ 'his wives'; F /ni.wa/ 'my wife'; M /ne.w/; S /ni.wa/; mD /ni.w/; Mh /ni.w/.  
 F /owi.wani/ 'his wife' with prothetic vowel; M /we.wan/; O /wi.wan/; S /wi.wali/ and /owi.wali/, the latter with an analogical prothetic vowel as in Fox; mD /wí.wal/; Mh /wí.wan/.  
 F /owi.wahi/ 'his wives' obv. pl.; Powhatan /wi.wah/ 'his wife or wives'. Powhatan has generalized the obviative plural, as in Cree, Western Abenaki, and all the SNE languages; Nr /wiwa/ 'his wife' (Roger Williams weewo 'his wife'); C /wi.wah/ 'his wife or wives' (Bl. Cree Texts 1934, pp. 54, 102).

PA /\*wi.wiwa/ (AI) 'he has a wife'; F /owi.wiwa/ with prothetic vowel; C /wi.wiw/; M /we.wew/; O /wi.wi/; Powhatan /wi.wiw/.

## 244. WINTER

- (a) /pepo.no.w/ (II) 'it is winter'.
- (b) popanow 'winter' (Smith), puppoannoh 'winter' (H16)
- (c) PA /\*pepo.nwi/ (noun) 'winter', (II) 'it is winter'; F /pepo.wi/, reshaped by analogy to F /mehpo.wi/ 'it snows' from PA /\*mexpo.wi/; C /pipon/; M /pepo.n/; O /pipo.n/; S /pepo.ni/ with reshaped ending: Mi /pipo.nwi/; P /pəpon/; Ms /pəpon/, (Eliot popón, Mayhew puppoon, Psalm 74:17). In addition to PA /\*pepo.nwi/ there is a longer and perhaps more archaic form:  
 PA /\*pepo.no.wi/ (II) 'it is winter'; M /pepo.no.wew/ with regularized or reshaped final; P /pəpono/; Powhatan /pepo.no.w/.



Compare also the three PA terms for 'it snows':

PA /\*mexpo.wi/ (II) 'it snows'; F /mehpo.wi/;  
C /mispon/ reshaped by analogy to C /pipon/  
'it is winter'; Ms /məhpə/ and /məhpowi/, (Eliot  
muhpoo I Chron. 11:22, muhpoowi 'it snows'  
Cotton).

PA /\*so.kexpo.wi/ (II) 'it snows'; O  
/so.kippo./; Nr /sôčihpo/, (Roger Williams  
sôchepo 'it snows'); Pq and Unquachog /sôčpo/  
with syncope, (Stiles souch'pouu, Speck súčpu,  
Jefferson soáchpo).

PA /\*peʔə.nwi/ (II) 'it snows'; M /pɛ.ʔnan/;  
P /psan/, changed conjunct /pəhsak/ 'when it  
snows', [pəhsan]; Mh /pxa.n/, changed conjunct  
/pa.xá.k/ 'when it snows', [pexa.n] (initial  
change in Mahican provides that morphophonemic  
[e] and [a] are replaced by [a.]); Ml and Ps  
/psán/. The root is PA /\*peʔə-/ 'in small  
particles'; C /pist-/ (C /pistahipe.w/ 'it  
drifts lightly'); O /piss-/.

The II verb PA finals of the above are:  
/\*-expo.wi/ 'snow'; and /\*-a.nwi/ 'weather,  
air condition', the former being deverbal from  
/\*mexpo.wi/. The latter forms with a prefinal  
the complex II final PA /\*-ela.nwi/ 'rain';  
S /-ela.nwi/; Mi /-ila.nwi/; P /-əlan/; Mh  
|-əna.n|; Pq /-əyan/; Ms /-ənan/ (Eliot  
sokanon 'it rains' Exodus 9:34).

#### 245. WOMAN

- (a) /metemsiss/ dimin. 'old woman'.
- (b) mtumpseis 'old woman' (H11), tumpseis 'old  
woman' (H16)
- (c) PA /\*metemwa/ 'old woman', dimin. PA  
/\*metemwehsa/ and with super-added dimin.  
PA /\*metemwehsihsa/ 'little old woman'; from  
the last is Powhatan /metemsiss/ with syncope

of the third syllable; F /metemo·ha/ 'old woman' dimin. ; M /metε·moh/ 'woman' but of dimin. origin, pl. /metε·mohsak/; O /mintimo·ye·n?/ 'old woman' dimin. , with unoriginal /nt/ cluster; Mi /mitemsa/ 'woman' but in dimin. form with syncope of the third syllable, pl. /mitemsaki/; Ms /mætəmwossis/ 'woman' with super-added diminutive (Eliot mittamwossis 'woman', Mayhew muttumwussis John 2:4, 4:7); Nr /mætəmos/ 'wife' (Roger Williams mittummus 'a wife', nummittamus 'my wife').

## 246. WOLF

- (a) /nantom/ 'wolf' (i. e. , "the hunter"), if correctly recorded by Strachey with an unoriginal /nt/ cluster as in the Ojibwa root.
- (b) naantam 'wolf' (H16)
- (c) The root is PA /\*natw-/ 'seek, hunt', and in extended form /\*nataw-/ (B146, Sections 78, 85, 104); F /natw-/; C /natw-/; M /natw-/; O /nantw-/; S /natw-/ (S /ninatoneha/ 'I search for it'); P /natw-/ and /nataw-/ (P /náatawat/ 'it is scarce').

Evidently some other Eastern Algonquian languages have this root in terms for 'wolf', for example the Martha's Vineyard dialect of Massachussee (Mayhew nattoohqus 'wolf' John 10:12), and one dialect of Narragansett (Cowesit ?) where it is recorded as natóqus 'wolf' by Roger Williams.

## 247. WOOD

- (a) /messiw/ 'piece of firewood, fuel-wood, faggot' INAN, pl. /messi·s/.
- (b) mushe 'wood' (H4), meihtusmusheis 'post' (H12) with the first s for intended c, musheis 'wood' (H16), musheis-ni-ourew 'wood all along' (H16) (actually the last three are pl.), musses 'woods' (Smith).

- (c) PA /\*mehši/ 'piece of firewood, fuel-wood, faggot' (Michelson 35, but incompletely rendered); pl. /\*mehθali/; F /mese·hi/ dimin. and analogical from the plural for expected /\*meše·hi/, pl. /mese·hani/; C /mihtiy/ or /miht/, pl. /mihta/ (compare C /mihto·t/ 'raft'); M root |mehN-| as in /mehno·s/ 'raft'; Mt /miht/, pl. /mihta/; O /mišši/, pl. /missan/, but some Ojibwa dialects have the sg. /missi/ (see Rogers p. 151) which is analogical from the pl. as in Fox.

The PA form posited by some languages almost certainly represents an older archetype:

PA /\*mehšiwī/, pl. /\*mehšiwali/; M /mehse·w/, pl. /mehse·wan/; Powhatan /messiw/, pl. /messi·s/, the latter for |messiw-as|, with contraction of /-iwa-/ to /i-/ before a non-syllabic. Compare O /miššiwa·ttik/ 'stick of firewood', reflecting PA /\*mehšiw-i/ and /\*-a·htekw-i/ 'stick, stem', and PA /\*mehšiwā·xkwa/ 'dead tree' (i. e. 'firewood tree'); F /mešiwa·hkwa/ and P /msəwəhk<sup>w</sup>/, |məhsiwəhk|. There are also verb forms with the deverbal medial /\*-ehθ-/ 'wood' from the noun root /\*mehθ-/ 'firewood':

PA /\*manehθe·wa/ (AI) 'he gathers firewood'; F /manese·wa/ 'he cuts wood'; M /manε·hnεw/; O /manisse/ 'he chops wood'; S /manʔθe/ 'he chops wood'; P /mānəsse/; mD /manáxe·w/. M, P, and mD preserve the original meaning.

#### 248. WORM

- (a) /mo·sse·w/ 'worm'. See LIZARD, entry 117.  
 (b) mowsah 'little worm or maggot' (H16)  
 (c) PA /\*mo·hθe·wa/ 'worm'; C /mo·hte·w/, pl. /mo·hte·wak/; Mt /mo·hte·w/, pl. /mo·hte·wač/; M /omo·hnεw/ with prothetic vowel; O /mo·sse./, pl. /mo·sse·k/; Mi /mo·sia/, pl.

/mo.sia.ki/; uD /mo.xwe.s/ dimin.; Powhatan /mo.sse.w/. There is also:

PA /\*wexkwe.wa/ 'maggot'; Mt /oškwe.w/; M /u.hkiw/; O /okkwe./, pl. /okkwe.k/; S /oʔkwa/ (in words of three or more syllables word final postvocalic /\*-wV/ is dropped in Shawnee, but in word final sequences of /\*-wVwV/ reduction occurs so that the vowel of the last syllable is retained; for another example of possible reduction in Shawnee see STEAL, entry 205); Ms /ohkw/, (Eliot oohkq 'worm', oohquou 'it bred worms' Exodus 16:20, matta oohquánoo 'there was no worm therein' Exodus 16:24).

## 249. WRAP UP

- (a) /newi.skwe.pita.w/ (TA) 'I wrap him up with cords, I tie him up'.
- (b) nuwweisquaput 'wrap or wind up any thing' (H16) (with inflectional suffix missing).
- (c) PA /\*newyi.xkwe.piθa.wa/ (TA) 'I tie him up, wrap him up with cords'; F /newi.hkwe.pina.wa/; C /niwi.skwe.pita.w/; M /wi.hkw-/ in /wi.hkiho.htam/ 'he carries it on his back wrapped in a bundle'; S /niwiʔkwe.pila/; P /nəwihk<sup>w</sup>épila/. The root appears in unextended form in Ojibwa, as O /niwi.kkopina./ 'I tie him', but in most languages appears in extended form as PA /\*wyi.xkwe.-/ 'bundle, wrap up'; F /wi.hkwe.-/; C /wi.skwe.-/; S /wiʔkwe.-/; P /wihk<sup>w</sup>e-/. The TI absolute form would be:

PA /\*wyi.xkwe.pitamwa/ 'he binds it, wraps it up with cords'; F /wi.hkwe.pitamwa/; C /wi.skwe.pitam/.

## 250. YAWN

- (a) /ta.watetone.w/ (AI) 'he yawns, gapes, opens his mouth'.
- (b) tawatuttoneo 'yawn or gape' (H16)
- (c) Pseudo-PA /\*ta.waθetone.wiwa/ 'he opens his

mouth', with AI prefinal and final complex PA /\*-etone.wiwa/ 'move mouth'; C /-itone.yiw/; P [-ətonewiw] (P /apk<sup>w</sup>ətónewo/ 'he opens his mouth'). The PA root is /\*ta.waθ-/ 'yawn, gape'; Powhatan /ta.wat-/ , found as follows:

PA /\*ta.waθwa/ 'he yawns, gapes' (AI); C /ta.watiw/; M /ta.wanɛw/; O /ta.wani/; S /ta.walwa/; the endings of the C, M, and O forms being reshaped.

## 251. YELLOW

- (a) /osa.we.w/ (II) 'it is yellow', /o.sa.wa.k/ (II participle) 'that which is yellow', with initial change of /o-/ to /o.-/.
- (b) oussawauk "yellow" (H16)
- (c) PA /\*wesa.wye.wi/ (II) 'it is yellow'; F /asa.wa.wi/; C /osa.wa.w/; M /osa.wi.w/; O /osa.wa./; S /oθa.wa/; Powhatan /osa.we.w/. In some languages (not following any "eastern" or "central" Algonquian distribution) the root of the form has been analogically reshaped, as if to represent pseudo-PA /\*wi.sa.wye.wi/; Mt /wi.ša.wa.w/; P root /wisaw-/ (P /wisáwikən/ 'it is yellow'); D (all dialects) /wi.sá.we.w/; Mh /wi.sá.wayo/ where /a/ is the reflex of /\*e-/; Np /wisaway/, (Mathevet p. 33 8isan8ai "jaune"); Unquachog /wisawayo/ (Jefferson weesawayo); Nr root /wisaw-/, (Roger Williams wesaûi "yellow"). The ancient alternation of PA /\*a./: /\*e./ before /\*w/ has been leveled out in Fox, Cree, Montagnais, Ojibwa, and Shawnee.

PA /\*we.sa.wya.ki/ (II participle) 'that which is yellow, yellow thing'; C /we.sa.wa.k/; M /wɛ.sa.wi.k/; O /we.sa.wa.k/; S /we.θa.wa.ki/; Powhatan /o.sa.wa.k/.

The analogy of the modified root /\*wi.sa.w-/

is to the following two nouns, representing items of yellow color:

PA /\*wi·si/ 'belly fat'; C /wi·si/; Mt /wi·š/; Ms /wis/, (Eliot wees 'fat' Exodus 29:13, 22).

PA /\*wi·swi/ 'bile'; F /owi·swi/ with prothetic vowel; P /wɪsi/; uD /wi·shwi/; Ms /wiswi/, (Eliot and Mayhew weswe 'gall' (for bile) Psalm 69:21).

### Addenda

#### 252. BUTTOCKS

- (a) /mesket/ 'someone's buttocks, breech', /nesket/ 'my buttocks', /kesket/ 'thy buttocks', /osket/ 'his buttocks'.
- (b) musket 'run' (H10), kehsekit 'arse' (H2), with Strachey's second e apparently orthographic.
- (c) PA /\*-çkečyi/ 'buttocks, breech' INAN dependent noun; S /-ʔkiči/, pl. /-ʔkičiwali/, reshaped with discrepant /ʔk/ cluster for expected /šk/; P |-hkəčiy|; Ms /-skət/; Powhatan /-sket/; as in PA /\*neçkečyi/ 'my buttocks'; P /nkəčī/; Powhatan /nesket/.

PA /\*weçkečyi/ 'his buttocks'; S /oʔkiči/ with discrepant cluster; P /wkəči/, |wəhkəčiy|; Ms /wəskət/, (William Wood (1634) mouskett 'the breech' for /məskət/ 'someone's breech'); Powhatan /osket/. There is also:

PA /\*-čyexki/ 'buttocks' INAN dependent noun; PA /\*wečyexki/ 'his buttocks'; C /očisk/; M /oče·h/, dependent stem /-čehk/.

#### 253. COB

- (a) /ohkit/ 'cob of maize, corncob' INAN, pl. /ohkiči·s/.
- (b) okishec, okicshec 'bob of the Virginia wheat without corn' (H3), actually pl.
- (c) PA /\*wexkičyi/ 'spike, spadix, inflorescent

plant stem' (apparent original PA meaning), and secondarily by semantic extension 'cob of maize, corn cob', and 'pipestem'; C /oskičiy/ 'pipestem', pl. /oskičiya/; O /okkič/ 'pipestem', pl. /okkiči·n/; Powhatan /ohkit/ 'cob'. There is also:

PA /\*weθemeθkwi/ 'bud, catkin'; C /osimisk/ (with assibilation in which expected /t/ is replaced by /s/ before /\*e/); O /onimikk/, pl. /onimikko·n/; P /wələməsk<sup>w</sup>/, pl. /wələmskol/.

## 254. LEAF

- (a) /ma·nkwipak/ 'compound leaf', pl. /ma·nkwipakos/.
- (b) maangwipacus 'leaves' (H9)
- (c) PEA /\*ma·nkwipakwi/ 'compound leaf'; P /mák<sup>w</sup>ipak<sup>w</sup>/, pl. /mak<sup>w</sup>ípakol/; Powhatan /ma·nkwipak/. The root is PEA /\*ma·nkw-/ 'toward a point, converge'; P |makw-|, and extended root |makwe-|, as in P /mák<sup>w</sup>ihle/ 'it goes together', /mák<sup>w</sup>ehle/ 'it accumulates'. The noun final is PA /\*-pakw-/ 'leaf'; F /-pakw-i/; M /-pakw-/; Mi /-pakw-/; P /-pak<sup>w</sup>/.

## 255. NIGHT

- (a) /tepahkat/ (II) 'it is night'.
- (b) toppquough 'night' (Smith), tapocot 'night' (H11)
- (c) PA /\*tepexkatwi/ or /\*tepaxkatwi/ (II) 'it is night'; F /tepehkatwi/; C /tipiska·w/, with generalized II final; M /tepe·h/ 'last night', /wani·tepe·hkat/ 'it is night'; O /tipikkat/; S /tepe?ki/; P /təpahkat/, /ak<sup>w</sup>ané·təpahkat/ 'it is the early or fore part of the night', /nawí·təpahkat/ 'it is the late part of the night, far into the night'; Ms /naw·təpahkat/ 'it is late at night', (Cotton nouttippohkod 'late at

night'); Nr (Roger Williams nanashowa-típpocat "midnight").

256. PADDLE, ROW (a) /či·me·w/ (AI) 'he paddles, rows', /či·me·s/ 'paddle thou!' (2 person sg. AI imperative)  
 (b) tchŷmaac "row" (H13)  
 (c) PA /\*či·me·wa/ (AI) 'he paddles'; C (deverbal final with shortened vowel) /nihta·wičime·w/ 'he paddles well, swims well'; M (deverbal final with short vowel) /peme·čemew/ 'he paddles or swims along'; O /či·me·/; Ms and Nr /čimaw/, (Eliot chemáu "he paddles, rows" Ezekiel 27:29, menuhke chemáoog "they toil in rowing" Mark 6:48).

PA /\*či·me·lwe/ 'paddle thou!' (2 person sg. AI imper.); O /či·me·n/; Powhatan /či·me·s/; Ms and Nr /čimaš/, (Roger Williams chémosh "paddle thou").

PA /\*či·me·kwa/ 'paddle ye!' (2 person pl. AI imper.); O /či·me·k/; Powhatan /či·me·k/; Ms and Nr /čimak/, (Roger Williams chémeck "paddle ye").

Penobscot has this root in /čimse/, |čiməhse|, 'he collects firewood by canoe, while paddling along a stream'.

257. PADDLE, OAR (a) /či·ma·kan/ 'paddle, oar' INAN, pl. /či·ma·kans/  
 (b) tshemacans "oar" (H11), actually pl.  
 (c) PEA /\*či·ma·kani/ 'paddle'; C /či·ma·kan/ 'companion in a canoe'; mD /či·má·kan/; Powhatan /či·ma·kan/.

258. SUMMER (a) /ni·peno·w/ (II) 'it is summer'.  
 (b) nepinough "summer" (Smith)  
 (c) PA /\*ni·penwi/ (noun) 'summer', (II) 'it is summer'; F /ni·penwi/; C /ni·pin/; M /ne·pen/; O /ni·pin/; Mi /nipinwiki/; P /nìpən/; mD /ni·pən/; Ms and Nr /nipən/, (Eliot népun



Genesis 8:22, Roger Williams néepun). There is also the longer and probably archaic form:

PA /\*ni.peno.wi/ (II) 'it is summer'; M /ne.penowew/ with regularized or reshaped ending (?); P /nĭpəno/; Powhatan /ni.peno.w/.

## 259. WAVE

- (a) /akwa.ska.w/ sg., pl. /akwa.ska.was/ 'breakers, waves dashing on the shore, surf'.  
 (b) agwaskawwaus "waves of the sea" (H15)  
 (c) Pseudo-PA as if /\*akwa.ška.wi/ 'breaker, wave dashing on the shore'; root PA /\*akw-/ 'ashore, out of the water', and PA /\*-a.ška.-/ 'wave'. An example is:

PA /\*mama.nka.ška.hanwi/ (II) 'it runs in big waves, the waves run high'; C /mama.hka.ska.han/; O /mama.nka.ška./.

## 260. BLOODROOT

- (a) /meskwaspən/ AN, pl. /meskwaspənək/ 'bloodroot' (Sanguinaria canadensis L.).  
 (b) musquaspenne "a root of the bigness of a finger, and as red as blood . . . in drying, it will wither almost to nothing . . . they use to paint their mats, targets, and such like" (Smith).  
 (c) Pseudo-PA as if /\*meḱkwaxpenya/ 'red tuber', for which see BLOOD (entry 28) and GROUNDNUT (entry 100). If Smith has recorded the term correctly, it provides an example of PA /\*xp/ reflected as Powhatan /sp/ rather than the usual /hp/, in the same manner that Powhatan has the reflexes /hk/ and /sk/ both from PA /\*xk/. This is almost certainly the result of differences between various Powhatan dialects.

PA /\*maḱkwaxpenya/ "bear potato"; F /mahko.hpenya/; O /makko.ppin/, pl. /makko.ppini.k/; is not the same as the Powhatan word, despite the suggestion of Michelson (1933, reference cited in note 28).

The bloodroot is mildly poisonous if eaten and the "bear potato" is described by Baraga and others as edible. The latter is probably the huge, yam-like, and edible man-of-the-earth or wild-potato-vine (Ipomoea pandurata [L.] G. F. W. Meyer).

## 261. RICE

- (a) /mato·min/ 'wild rice, water oats' (Zizania aquatica L. and variants)
- (b) matoume "groweth as our bents do in meadows . . . seed is not much unlike to rye, though much smaller . . . this they use for dainty bread buttered with deer suet" (Smith).
- (c) PA /\*maθo·mina/ 'wild rice, wild water oats' (perhaps originally 'any stiff grass bearing edible grain'), AN in most languages; F /mano·mina/ 'wild rice', pl. /mano·minaki/; C (Swampy Cree only, and evidently a loan from Ojibwa) /mano·min/ 'wild rice, oats', pl. /mano·minak/; M /mano·meh/ 'wild oats, wild rice' INAN, pl. /mano·menan/; O /mano·min/ 'wild rice, oats'; Mi /malo·mina/, pl. /malo·minaki/ 'rice, oats'; Np /malomin/ 'wheat', also 'rye, oats, barley' (Mathevet mal8min "bled" p. 89; Aubery ms. Fr.-Abn. p. 64, mar8men "avoine sauvage", "les Loups appellent ainsi le bled"; Aubery ms. Fr.-Abn. p. 412, mar8men "orge", "les Loups appellent ainsi les bleds, avoines, segles, &c."); P (and other EA dialects) /apətéləwimin/, pl. /apətələwíminal/ 'rice' (i.e., "laughing berries, grains"), the usual term for 'rice', especially for post-contact Oryza sativa; but P (and EA) /málomin/ AN, pl. /malóminak/ 'wild rice, water oats' (Zizania aquatica L.), now an obsolescent term; and /málomin/ INAN,

pl. /malóminal/ 'lyme grass' (original meaning), but also used in recent times for introduced wheat, barley, oats, and rye.

The INAN pl. /malóminal/ refers to Elymus arenarius, var. villosus Ernst H. F. Meyer, known variously as 'lyme grass', 'strand wheat', 'wild oats', and 'sea rye', which is found on the beaches and shores of the north Atlantic coast south to Penobscot Bay (sparsely to Cape Cod), along the St. Lawrence Strait and River, and on the shores of many northern inland lakes, especially Lakes Michigan and Superior. The grain is edible, nearly half an inch long, and resembles an oat.

## 262. STARGRASS

- (a) /wi·ssaka·n/ 'stargrass, colicroot, unicorn-root' (Aletris farinosa L.). This plant has a very bitter, short, tough, rhizomatous root, the juice of which has medicinal value as an astringent and sudorific. It was used also by the eastern Siouan peoples of the Carolinas and Virginia to treat wounds and snakebites.
- (b) wighsacan "a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound . . . so this cureth their hurts" (Smith).

The same term was recorded on Roanoke Island in 1585 by John White. He gives Chowan wisakon "the herb which the savages call Wysauke wherewith they cure their wounds which they receive by the poisoned arrows of their enemies". In Hulton and Quinn ("The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590", London and Chapel Hill, 1964) this is identified as a species of Asclepias or milkweed. White seems to have had some misunderstanding, since the roots of the milkweeds are toxic and

herefore might have been the source of the poison in which the arrowpoints were dipped rather than the antidote.

- (c) PA root /\*wi.ʔsak-/ 'bitter, painful'; C /wi.sak-/; M /we.ʔsak-/; O /wi.ssak-/; S /wiʔθak-/; P /wæssak-/; Powhatan /wi.ssak-/; compounded with the abstract noun final PA /\*-a.n-/. There are many terms with this root:

PA /\*wi.ʔsakanwi/ (II) 'it is bitter'; C /wi.sakan/; M /we.ʔsakan/; S /wiʔθakanwi/.

## 263. STURGEON

- (a) /kapa.to.n/ 'Atlantic sturgeon' (Acipenser oxyrhynchus Mitchill).
- (b) cuppotoon "sturgeon" (H14), copotone "sturgeon" (Smith).
- (c) PEA /\*kapa.hše.wa/ 'Atlantic sturgeon'; P (and all EA dialects) /kàpahse/, pl. /kápahsak/; WA /kapahsá/; Ms and Nr /kapahš/, (Cotton kôpposh; Roger Williams kaúposh "sturgeon", pl. kaúposhaûog); Chowan /kapa.hse.w/, (John White, Roanoke Island 1585, coppáuseo with drawing of the sturgeon). The PEA term is a compound of the PA extended root /\*kapa.-/ 'away from, out of the water'; C, M, and O /kapa.-/; P /kapa-/; and the PA medial /\*-ehš-/ 'ear' (for which see DEAF, entry 66). Powhatan has replaced medial /\*-ehš-/ 'ear' with /\*-eto.n-/ 'mouth' (see MOUTH, entry 134).

Compare the morphophonemics of Penobscot /kàpahse/ 'sturgeon', |kapa-əhs-ay| with laxing of the penultimate syllable, and /kápassé/ 'he disembarks, walks out of a boat or other conveyance', |kapa-ohse| with retention of the penultimate tense vowel followed by fortis consonantal gemination.

## SYNCOPE

Some Algonquian languages show syncope of short vowels, and each language that exhibits this phonological feature has its own set of rules governing the process. In general, syncope is of a more limited application in Powhatan than in Shawnee, Delaware, Mahican, Western Abenaki, and Eastern Abenaki.

In Powhatan, the low or open short vowels /e/ and /a/ are weak in that they alone are subject to syncope in certain phonological environments, and all other vowels are strong and never syncopated. Within any word, alternating syllables are heavy and light. Syllabic weights are determined by a simple rule. If the first vowel of a word is weak vowel /e/, even-numbered syllables are heavy and odd-numbered syllables are light, but in all other cases odd-numbered syllables are heavy and even-numbered syllables are light.

Two independent types of syncope occur in Powhatan, major syncope and minor syncope.

A. Major syncope never occurs in basic morphemes or themes of less than three syllables, and does not affect initial or final syllables of words. The weak vowels /e/ and /a/ are regularly subject to syncope in light checked or closed syllables which end in a spirant, that is, light syllables closing in /s/ or /h/, except those between identical spirants.

(1) In the following underlying forms syncope occurs in even-numbered light syllables:

- |               |   |               |                    |
|---------------|---|---------------|--------------------|
| e.mehko.n     | → | /e.mko.n/     | 'spoon'            |
| pakahkanw     | → | /pakkan/      | 'puccoon, red dye' |
| wi.kahkway    | → | /wi.kkway/    | '(his) thigh'      |
| či.kehkahikan | → | /či.kkahikan/ | 'broom'            |

(2) Syncope also occurs in odd-numbered light syllables:

- |              |   |             |             |
|--------------|---|-------------|-------------|
| metemwessiss | → | /metemsiss/ | 'old woman' |
|--------------|---|-------------|-------------|

(3) Odd-numbered heavy syllables are not syncopated:

- |                |              |               |        |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------|
| /kake.pehte.w/ | 'he is deaf' | /ami.nehka.n/ | 'seed' |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------|

(4) Even-numbered heavy syllables are not affected by syncope:

- |             |           |
|-------------|-----------|
| /nečehča.k/ | 'my soul' |
| /metahkem/  | 'louse'   |

- (5) Word initial and final syllables are not subject to major syncope:

/kehtasko·k/ 'large snake'

/wehtawak/ 'his ear'

/očapahk/ 'root'

- (6) Words whose base form or theme comprises less than three syllables remain unaffected by major syncope:

/mahkahkos/ 'pumpkins'

/ahkehhok/ 'water-drums, pots'

/ahkehkwins/ 'small pot'

- (7) Syncope in even-numbered light syllables does not occur between identical spirants.

/ossaskwe·ss/ 'muskrat' (dialect A)

/mossaskwe·ss/ 'muskrat' (Dialect B)

B. Minor syncope is unrelated to major syncope except that both affect the weak vowels /e/ and /a/. In Powhatan minor syncope is apparently optional or dialectic. It functions independently of the phonological feature of syllabic weight, does not occur in words of less than three syllables, and is limited to word final closed syllables beginning in the sonorants /m/ and /n/ and ending in word final spirant /s/ or a cluster the first member of which is /s/.

- (1) Minor syncope does not take place in words of two syllables:

/nenesk/ 'my arm'

/me·nesk/ 'earthwork'

- (2) Some examples of optional minor syncope are:

[pare·neskw] → /pare·nesk/ or /pare·nsk/ 'five'

/mahkesenas/ or /mahkesens/ 'shoes'

/apo·nas/ or /apo·ns/ 'loaves of bread'

/akwimess/ or /akwims/ 'loan'

#### SOME GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF POWHATAN

- A. The noun inflections are:

|          | ANIMATE   |           | INANIMATE |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|          | Proximate | Obviative |           |
| Singular | (zero)    | /-ah/     | (zero)    |
| Plural   | /-ak/     | /-ah/     | /-as/     |

Powhatan does not distinguish the singular and plural obviative of animate nouns, and has generalized the obviative plural inflection /-ah/ from PA /\*-ahi/. This is illustrated by such forms as /wi·wah/ 'his wife or wives' and /otessiwah/ 'his testicle(s)'.

The languages which preserve the Proto-Algonquian situation and distinguish number in the obviative are Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Northern Ojibwa, Arapaho, Malecite-Passamaquoddy, and Eastern Abenaki (including Penobscot). Among those which do not distinguish number in the obviative, Menomini, Central and Eastern Ojibwa, Mahican, and Delaware have generalized the original obviative singular inflection PA /\*-ali/. On the other hand, Cree, Western Abenaki, all the SNE languages (Massachussee, Narragansett, Mohegan-Pequot, and Nipmuck-Pocumtuck), and Powhatan have generalized the inflection of the obviative plural PA /\*-ahi/.

Powhatan is found to be in accord with the SNE group of languages of Eastern Algonquian with regard to both the inanimate noun plural inflection /-as/ and the animate noun obviative inflection /-ah/ which is indifferent to number.

B. Only a few of the pronominal affixes of the Powhatan verb in the independent indicative mode are attested:

(1) The animate intransitive (AI) inflections are:

- 1 sg. /ne—/ (or with AI themes ending in /-a·/) /ne—m/
- 2 sg. /ke—/ (or with AI themes ending in /-a·/) /ke—m/
- 3 sg. /—w/
- 1 pl. /ne—men/ ('we' exclusive)
- 12 pl. /ke—men/ ('we' inclusive)
- 2 pl. /ke—mo·w/ [not attested]
- 3 pl. /—wak/

Some examples are: /nepensen/ 'I have a mote in my eye'

/pe·w/ 'he comes', /nepya·m/ 'I come'

/nenepa·m/ 'I am asleep'

/kewi·hpe·ntomen/ 'we sleep together'

(2) The transitive inanimate forms (TI) attested have only singular subjects, and fall into the usual three TI classes:

| Class 1 |                   | Class 2         |     | Class 3       |     |
|---------|-------------------|-----------------|-----|---------------|-----|
|         | pl.               |                 | pl. |               | pl. |
| 1       | /ne—amen/ —amena/ | /ne—a.n/ —a.na/ |     | /ne—en/ —ena/ |     |
| 2       | /ke—amen/ —amena/ | /ke—a.n/ —a.na/ |     | /ke—en/ —ena/ |     |
| 3       | o—amen/ —amena/   | /—o.w/ (?)      |     | /o—en/ —ena/  |     |

Negative:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ne \\ /ke \\ /o \end{array} \right\} \text{ —amo.wen/}$$

Negative:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ne \\ /ke \\ /o \end{array} \right\} \text{ —o.wen/}$$

Examples of Class 1 are:

/ota.hte.hamen/ 'he extinguishes it (fire, flame)'

/nenō.ntamen/ 'I hear it'

/mata neno.ntamo.wen/ 'I do not hear it' (wrongly recorded by Strachey)

/nepo.ta.tamen/ 'I blow (on) it'

/nekontamen/ 'I swallow it'

Examples of Class 2 are:

/nemera.nta.n/ 'I smell it'

/pe.to.w/ 'he brings' (this is probably an objectless-TI)

Examples of Class 3 are:

/nemi.či.n/ 'I eat it'

/netayi.n/ 'I have it'

/netayi.na/ 'I have them' (INAN)

/onamen/ 'he sees it'

/mata onamo.wen/ 'he does not see it'

(3) The transitive animate (TA) verb forms attested are confined to three forms, one of them also represented by a negative. No inverse forms are found in Strachey's materials.

1 sg.—3 sg. ('I—him') /ne—a.w/

2 sg.—3 sg. ('thou—him') /ke—a.w/

1 sg.—2 sg. ('I—thee') /ke—es/

Negative 1 sg.—2 sg. /ke—ero.w/

Examples are: /newi.skwe.pita.w/ 'I wrap him up with cords'

/nemera.ma.w/ 'I perceive his odor, smell him'



|  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| /nepakama·w/   | 'I strike him'                      |
| /nemo·nsa·w/   | 'I cut his hair'                    |
| /kemo·nsa·w/   | 'you (sg.) cut his hair'            |
| /neki·skama·w/                                       | 'I bite him through'                |
| /ketassames/   | 'I feed thee, I give thee food'     |
| /ko·wama·nes/  | 'I love thee'                       |
| /kenenohto·s/  | 'I understand thee (what you say)', |
| ke·nenoh̄ta·w-es  with PA contraction of /*-awe-/ to |                                     |
| /*-o-·-/ in suffixed inflections before /*θ/, /*š/   |                                     |
| and /*l/.  |                                     |
| /mata kenenohto·ro·w/                                | 'I do not understand thee',         |
| with the same contraction.                           |                                     |

C. The conjunct order is scarcely attested at all in Strachey's materials.

(1) The injunctive mode is involved in a single form:

/pya·č/ 'let him come'.

(2) The inanimate intransitive conjunct (II) is given in one participle form:

/o·sa·wa·k/ 'yellow thing, that which is yellow', the suffixed inflection being /-k/ from PA /\*-ki/.

(3) One type of initial change found in the conjunct order is noted in which initial /o-/ is replaced by /o-·-/ . This occurs in the II indicative /osa·we·w/ 'it is yellow' and the conjunct participle /o·sa·wa·k/ 'yellow thing'.

Presumably word initial /a/ and /e/ were changed to /e·/ in conjunct forms also, but no attestations are observed in Strachey's materials.

D. Imperative order forms are found frequently in Strachey's recordings but a complete paradigm is not possible. Bloomfield's presentation of the imperative order of Proto-Algonquian (Bl46, Section 43, p. 100) calls for some revisions and additions when the evidence provided by other Algonquian languages is considered. No TA imperatives are given by Strachey and these are omitted in the present discussion. The AI and TI verb imperative inflections of selected languages are summarized in the following table:

|  | PA        | F      | C     | O     | S      | PEA     |       | PEA-A   |       |      |
|--|-----------|--------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|---------|-------|------|
|  |           |        |       |       |        | mD      | P     | Np      | Ms    | Pw   |
| (AI):  |           |        |       |       |        |         |       |         |       |      |
| 2sg.   | *-lwe     | -no    | -y    | -n    | -lo    | -l      | -     | -s      | -š    | -s   |
| 2pl.   | *-ekwa    | -eko   | -ik   | -ik   | -eko   | -ək     | -ək   | -əkwa   | -ək   | -ek  |
| (TI): Class 1                                    |           |        |       |       |        |         |       |         |       |      |
| 2sg.   | *-anlwe   | -ano   | -ah   | -an   | -ano   | -ah     | -a    | -as     | -ah   | -ass |
| 2pl.   | *-amwekwa | -amoko | -amok | -amok | -amoko | -amo·kw | -amok | -amokwa | -amok | (?)  |
| (TI): Class 3                                    |           |        |       |       |        |         |       |         |       |      |
| 2sg.   | *-lwe     | -no    | -y    | -n    | -lo    | -l      | -     | -s      | -š    | -s   |
| 2pl.   | *-ekwa    | -eko   | -ik   | -ik   | -eko   | -ək     | -ək   | -əkwa   | -ək   | -ek  |
| Note: PA *-anlwe = [*-am(w)-lwe] > PEA-A *-anōwe |           |        |       |       |        |         |       |         |       |      |

(1) The transitive inanimate imperative is indifferent as to the number of inanimate objects, distinguishing only the number of the addressee.

(2) Examples of the Powhatan imperative verb are:

(AI) sg.: /pasekwi·s/ 'arise thou!', /pi·ntike·s/ 'enter thou!',  
/nahapis/ 'sit down!', /či·me·s/ 'paddle thou!'

(AI) pl.: /pya·k/ 'come ye!'

(TI, class 1) sg.: /ontenass/ 'take thou it from there!',  
/a·htawe·hass/ 'extinguish thou it (fire, flame)!'

The TI plural addressee form is not attested by Strachey, but presumably would be /-amok/ as in /ontenamok/ 'take ye it from there!'

(TI, class 3) sg.: /mi·či·s/ 'eat thou it!'

The TI plural addressee form is not attested, but presumably would be /mi·či·k/ 'eat ye it!'

(3) Examples of Massachussee and Nipmuck-Pocumtuck imperatives are:

(AI) sg.: Np /ləwas/ 'speak thou!' (Mathevet 18as "parle!" pp. 26, 53)  
/kawis/ 'sleep thou!' (Mathevet ka8is "dors!" pp. 25, 40)

Ms /pəyaš/ 'come thou!' (Eliot peyaush, Mayhew peyosh

John 11:34)

Nr /či·maš/ 'paddle thou!' (Roger Williams chémosh)

(AI) pl.: Np /ləwakwa/ 'speak ye!' (Mathevet 18ak8a "parlez!" p. 26)

/nohpawossakwa/ (Mathevet n8pa8ssak8a "allez en guerre!" p. 9)

Nr /čimak/ 'paddle ye!' (Roger Williams chémeck)

(TI, class 1) sg.: Ms (compare Ms /notam/ 'he hears' (objectless TI), Eliot and Mayhew nootam Psalm 55:17)

Ms /notah/ and /notaš/ 'hear thou!', perhaps representing different dialects, one perhaps distinguishing objectless and objectful TI forms (Eliot nootah "hearken thou!", Mayhew nootash Psalm 45:10)

Np (compare Np /wawatam/ 'he is knowing, prudent, sober' (objectless TI), (Mathevet 8a8antam "il est sage" p. 42)

Np /wawatas/ 'be thou wise, prudent, sober!' (Mathevet 8a8antas "sois sage!" p. 42)

(TI, class 1) pl.:

Ms /notamok/ 'hear ye!' (Eliot and Mayhew nootamook "hearken ye!, hear ye!" Psalm 49:1)

Np /wawatamokwa/ 'be ye wise, prudent, sober!' (Mathevet 8a8antam8g8a "soyez sage!" p. 42)

(4) The delayed or future imperative is attested in a single form by Strachey in his mechecusk which could be read mechocusk, and is evidently to be taken as a writing error for /mi·čī·hkas/ 'eat thou it then, by and by, later!' The unattested plural addressee form would be expected /mi·čī·hke·k/ 'eat ye it later!' Many Algonquian languages have lost the delayed imperative and it is archaic or obsolescent in others. The prefinal ending or marker of the future imperative is PA /\*-ehke·-/ , with /\*e·/ replaced by /\*a/ before certain suffixes by the rules of internal sandhi. Reconstructions of the delayed imperative inflections follow, the Powhatan forms in parentheses being unattested hypothetical constructs:

|                      | PA            | C         | O         | Powhatan    |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| (AI) and             |               |           |           |             |
| (TI, class 3): 2 sg. | *-ehkalwe     | -ihkan    | -ikkan    | -ehkas      |
| 2 pl.                | *-ehke·kwa    | -ihke·k   | -ikke·k   | (-ehke·k)   |
| (TI, class 1): 2 sg. | *-amwehkalwe  | -amohkan  | -amokkan  | (-amohkas)  |
| 2 pl.                | *-amwehke·kwa | -amohke·k | -amokke·k | (-amohke·k) |

E. The diminutives of nouns in Powhatan fall into the following six classes. The rules of internal sandhi give occlusive dominance to vowels terminating prior morphemes.

(1) /-ins/:

/ahkehkwins/ 'small pot'

/meno·te·ns/ 'small basket'

/mehtekwins/ 'little stick'

(2) /-e·ns/:

/ato·ns/ 'arrow' (with /-we·-/ replaced by /-o·-/)

/pi·menahkwa·ne·ns/ 'small cord, twine'

Pre-Powhatan /\*metenče·ns/ 'mitten' > /metenče·ss/ by progressive dissimilation, reinforced by analogy to the more common diminutives of classes 5 and 6.

(3) /-es/ and /-is/:

/mahkate·s/ 'small coal, ember'

(4) /-iss/:

/metemsiss/ 'old woman'

(5) /-e·ss/:

/ossaskwe·ss/, /mossaskwe·ss/ 'muskrat'

(6) /-ess/: This is the most common class of diminutive, and is the reflex of both PA /\*-ehš-/ and /\*-ehs-/.

/wi·ya·ss/ 'meat, flesh'

/ata·nkwešs/ 'star'

/e·rikwešs/ 'ant'

/atemoss/ 'dog'

/penkwešs/ 'gnat'

/kaya·hkwešs/ 'gull'

/akwimešs/ 'loon'

/a·pikwešs/ 'mouse'

/a·po·sse·ss/ 'slowworm, lizard'

/otani·ss/ 'his small (bird's) tail'

/oska·pe·ss/ 'boy attending a chief'

#### HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY OF POWHATAN

A. The syllabic phonemes of Proto-Eastern-Algonquian (PEA) are preserved unaltered in Powhatan, and the vowel sounds of Proto-Algonquian are maintained in both except that word initial PA /\*e-/ appears as PEA /\*a-/ and Powhatan /a-/.

PA /\*eθkwe·ʔθemwa/ 'bitch' > /askwe·ssem/

PA /\*ešpe.wi/ 'it is high' > /aspe.w/

B. The postconsonantal word final short vowels of Proto-Algonquian have been dropped.

PA /\*mye.neθki/ 'earthwork' > /me.nesk/

PA /\*no.hθa/ 'my father' > /no.ss/

PA /\*neni.čya.na/ 'my child' > /neni.ča.n/

C. Proto-Algonquian /\*s/ and /\*š/ have completely coalesced or fallen together in Powhatan as the indifferent hissing or hushing spirant phoneme /s/. Except when neutralized in word final position in particle and inflectional morphemes, PA /\*l/ becomes Powhatan /r/, and except in the same environment when there is an analogically fixed alternation to /\*š/, PA /\*θ/ becomes Powhatan /t/, falling together with /\*t/.

PA /\*weθakešyali/ 'his bowels' > /otakesi.s/

PA /\*aθemwehša/ 'little dog' > /atemoss/

PA /\*le.kawi/ 'sand' > /re.kaw/

PEA /\*ta.pawa.ši/ 'seven' > /ta.pawa.s/

PEA /\*to.lepye.wa/ 'loggerhead' > /to.repe.w/

PEA /\*a.škalaškwī/ 'seaweed' > /a.skarask/

PA /\*ši.ʔši.pa/ 'fowl, duck' > /si.ssi.p/

PA /\*kweθapeška.wa/ 'he capsizes' > /kotapeska.w/

D. The Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters and their Powhatan reflexes, with reference to examples and the entry number of each are tabulated below. Only the Powhatan equivalents of the PA clusters /\*hl/ and /\*čp/ remain undetermined. PA cluster /\*xk/ is troublesome and is discussed below.

| PA       | Powhatan | Examples   |
|----------|----------|--|
| *nk > nk |          | BIG (24), CHINQUAPIN (48), DUST (70), GNAT (95), TASTE GOOD (218), WASH FACE (235)   |
| *hk > hk |          | LOUSE (121), POT (158), PUMPKIN (161), ROE (168), ROOT (170), ROPE (171), SEED (179), SHORT (186), SPIT (200), SPOON (201)                   |
| *xk > {  | sk       | ARROW (16), LEG (115), MAT (125), NOSE (142), WATER RECEDES (237), WRAP UP (249)   |
|          | hk       | BLACK (27), CLOUD (51), COAL (52), MEAL, SOFT (126), MORNING (130), NOSE (142), POT (158), PUCCOON (160), SHOE (184), COB (253), NIGHT (255) |

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| *θk > sk | ABOVE (11), FIVE (5), ARM (15), BITCH (26), BONE (32), COAT (53), EARTHWORK (73), SEED (180), SNAKE (196)  |
| *šk > sk | BOY (37), CAPSIZE (45), CLAY (50), CUT (63), EYE (79), FLOUNDER (86), FROST (91), GULL (101), LIP (116), MUSKRAT (136), NEW (141), REED (160), RAW (165), STRAWBERRY (206), SEAWEED (238), WHISTLE (240), WAVE (259) |
| *çk > sk | BLOOD (28), GILL (94), VAGINA (?) (232), BUTTOCKS (252), BLOODROOT (260)   |
| *čk > hk | FISH-HOOK (?) (85), RACCOON (?) (162)  |
| <hr/>    |  |
| *nl > n  | MOTE IN EYE (131), SHARP (182)   |
| *hl (?)  |  |
| *?l > ss | BEARD (22), FLY (87), LOST (120), NET (139), FLYING SQUIRREL (203)   |
| <hr/>    |  |
| *nθ > ss | COPPER (57), TAKE FROM THERE (2 sg. TI imper.) (217), EXTINGUISH FIRE (2 sg. TI imper.) (78)   |
| *hθ > ss | COUGH (59), COVER (60), FATHER (80), LIZARD (117), SKIN (188), WORM (248)  |
| *?θ > ss | THREE (3), ARROW, FLETCHED (16), BITCH (26), BOAT (31), COUGH (59), FUR (93), NEST (138), OPOSSUM (145), PEANUT (150), REED (167), SQUIRREL (202), SUN (209)   |
| <hr/>    |  |
| *nš > ns | BRIAR (40), CUT HAIR (64), DOE (67), EYE (79), VINE (233)  |
| *hš > ss | BREAST (39), DOG (68), FEED (82), GNAT (95), PAWPAW (149), PERSIMMON (153), SNAKE, SPECIES (197), TAIL OF BIRD (214), WHISTLE (240), WOOD (247)  |
| *?š > ss | EIGHT (8), BIRD (25), HAIR (103), HERON (107), MUSKRAT (136), TESTICLE (220)   |
| <hr/>    |  |
| *ns > ns | MOTE IN EYE (131), NAME (137), PAROQUET (147), POT, LITTLE (158), WATER RECEDES (237)  |
| *hs > ss | AWL (18), BOY (37), MEAT (127), MIRE (128), WOMAN, OLD (245)   |
| *?s > ss | FISH (84), COPPER (58), STARGRASS (262)  |
| <hr/>    |  |
| *nč > nč | SIX (6), HAND (104), MITTEN (129), THUMB (224), WASH HANDS (235)   |
| *hč > hč | see *ht  |
| *?č > hč | CHINQUAPIN (48), SOUL (199)  |

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| *nt > nt  | CANOE (44), DANCE (65), ENTER (77), HEAR (106),<br>PEANUT (150), SMELL (195), SWALLOW (211), TAKE<br>FROM THERE (217), THROAT (223) |
| *ht > ht  | DEAF (66), EAR (72), UNDERSTAND (230)   |
| *ʔt > ht  | BOW (33), FOAM (88), EXTINGUISH (78), SNAKE,<br>LARGE (196), THUMB (224), TREE (226)  |
| <hr/>     |   |
| *mp > mp  | MARROW (124)  |
| *hp > hp  | PLAY (156), SLEEP WITH (192)  |
| *xp > {   | GROUNDNUT (100), PIPE (154), SCRAPE (177)<br>BLOODROOT (260)  |
| hp        |   |
| sp        |   |
| <hr/>     |   |
| *θp > sp  | MORNING (130)   |
| *šp > sp  | FULL OF FOOD (92), HIGH (108)   |
| *čp > (?) |   |

The double Powhatan reflexes of PA /\*xk/ call for some discussion. A reasonable explanation would be that one dialect of Powhatan had the reflex /sk/ and the other /hk/ for PA /\*xk/, and this view finds some support from the fact that it has been demonstrated that at least two dialects are represented in Strachey's recordings and in one gloss, the dependent noun PA /\*-xkiwani/ 'nose', Strachey evidently has recorded the variants /mehkiwan/ and /meskiwan/ 'someone's nose'. On the other hand, there is some justification to support a contrary view since Strachey did make some copying or writing errors. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that some Proto-Algonquian reconstructions positing /\*xk/ are shaky since they depend for the most part on a single diachronic phonological development that resulted in the comparative contrast of Cree /sk/ with /hk/ in most other languages. The consonant clusters in Algonquian are more volatile than has hitherto been assumed, and in some languages they seem to be more plastic than in others, among them Shawnee, Menomini, and Cree. In most cases discrepant clusters are to be explained as the result of the operations of analogy and assimilative and dissimilative changes within a given language, or as a result of borrowing from a neighboring language during a period of prolonged contact. The phenomenon of cluster plasticity in Algonquian points out the chief weakness in the application of the comparative method of reconstruction, despite unquestionable soundness and obvious virtues, in language

stocks in which there are no inherited written records from antiquity that will often provide indisputable solutions to otherwise problematical phonological inductions.

Bloomfield's coded /\*xk/ perhaps represents an actual PA /\*tk/, and his coded /\*çk/ probably is in origin either an actual PA /\*lk/ or /\*sk/ or both. Arapaho and the Eastern Algonquian languages except Powhatan clearly reflect separate correspondences for PA /\*xk/ and /\*θk/, Arapaho having /ʔ/ for the former and /x/ alternating with /s/ for the latter. However, Arapaho is not unequivocally contrastive, for in Arapaho PA /\*šk/ has the same reflex as /\*θk/, and /\*nk/ and /\*çk/ the same reflex as /\*xk/, and PA /\*hk/ has the Arapaho reflex /ʔ/ alternating with /zero/.

The reflexes of PA /\*hk/ and /\*xk/ are kept apart only in Cree, Arapaho, Delaware, Mahican, and Powhatan, but apparently in none of these languages without minor perturbation from borrowing, or from the operations of analogy and assimilation and dissimilation. PA /\*hk/ is reflected in Cree and Powhatan as /hk/ and in Delaware and Mahican as /h/, and PA /\*xk/ as /sk/ in Cree, and /hk/ in Delaware and Mahican. For example, Delaware /mákahkw/ 'pumpkin' from PA /\*mahkahkwi/ 'tub, cask' is certainly a borrowing from languages to the south as is shown by Powhatan /mahkahk/ 'pumpkin' with the same semantic specialization. There are clear examples of glosses which appear to posit PA /\*xk/ appearing in Powhatan with both /sk/ and /hk/:

Powhatan /sk/: (1) PA /\*mexka·či/ 'leg', Powhatan /meska·t/, Arapaho /wóʔooθ/

(2) PA /\*ana·xkani/ 'mat, rug', Powhatan /ana·ska·n/

(3) PA /\*newyi·xkwe·piθa·wa/ 'I tie him up, wrap him up with cords', Powhatan /newi·skwe·pita·w/

Powhatan /sk/ and /hk/:

(4) PA /\*mexkiwani/ 'nose', Powhatan /meskiwan/ and /mehkiwan/, Arapaho /béʔis/

Powhatan /hk/: (5) PA /\*maxkeseni/ 'shoe', Powhatan /mahkesen/, Arapaho /woʔóh/

(6) PA /\*tepexkatwi/ 'it is night', Powhatan /tepahkat/, Arapaho /téčéʔ/

(7) PA /\*lo·xk-/ 'soft', Powhatan /ro·hk-/



Although a resolution of this difficulty by positing two diverging Powhatan dialects with different reflexes of /\*xk/ has much in its favor, it should be recognized that this solution may be all too facile and disguise the fact that some of the reflexes of attributed /\*xk/ in Cree, Delaware, Mahican, and Arapaho are subject to perturbation and may be unoriginal in specific cases, and that these languages do not always agree among themselves. If the postulation of two major Powhatan dialects is correct, which seems likely, then dialect A recorded largely by Smith and partly by Strachey and probably the one spoken in the immediate vicinity of Jamestown is the dialect with the reflex /hk/ for /\*xk/, and dialect B had /sk/. Unfortunately we lack sufficient information to explicate the details of Virginia Algonquian and its dialects.

The cluster /\*xp/ seems to be reflected regularly in Powhatan as /hp/ with the single exception /meskwaspən/ 'bloodroot' recorded by Smith with reflex /sp/. If correct, it tends to confirm that the variant reflexes of /\*xk/ and /\*xp/ are due to dialect differences within Powhatan.

E. The ancient Proto-Algonquian alternation /\*ya·/ : /\*yi·/ before /\*w/ is faithfully retained in Powhatan.

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| PA /*netayi·wa·wa/ 'I have him'            | > /netayi·wa·w/ |
| PA /*ma·čyi·wa/ 'he goes off, starts away' | > /ma·či·w/     |
| PA /*ki·nlyi·wi/ 'it is sharp'             | > /ki·ni·w/     |
| PA /*aškanyi·wi/ (?) 'it is raw'           | > /askani·w/    |

Powhatan has stabilized both facets of the alternation, on the one hand analogically extending alternant /\*yi·/ before other sonorants besides /\*w/, and on the other hand analogically retaining primary /\*ya·/ in word final.

|                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| PA /*netaya·ni/ 'I have it'           | > /netayi·n/ |
| PA /*nema·čya/ 'I go off, start away' | > /nema·ča·/ |

F. The ancient Proto-Algonquian alternation /\*a·/ : /\*e·/ before /\*w/ is faithfully preserved in Powhatan.

|                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| PA /*ešpe·wi/ 'it is high'      | > /aspe·w/              |
| PA /*wa·pe·wi/ 'it is white'    | > /a·pe·w/ or /wa·pe·w/ |
| PA /*wesa·we·wi/ 'it is yellow' | > /osa·we·w/            |
| PA /*kenwe·wi/ 'it is long'     | > /kene·w/              |
| PA /*nepe·wa/ 'he sleeps'       | > /nepe·w/              |
| Compare: PA /*nenepa/ 'I sleep' | > /nenepa·m/            |

- PA /\*pye.wa/ 'he comes' > /pe.w/  
 Compare: PA /\*nepya/ 'I come' > /nepya.m/  
 PA /\*pya.kwa/ 'come ye!' > /pya.k/  
 PA /\*pya.čye/ 'let him come' > /pya.č/

The primary member /\*a./ of the alternation has been stabilized in Powhatan by the innovative suffix /-m/ in first and second person singular AI verbs exhibiting this alternation. The new suffix has been segmented out and analogically transferred from the AI pluralizing suffixes /-men/ and /-mo.w/. The stabilization of the alternation /\*a./ : /\*e./ in this respect differs from that observed in the alternation /\*ya./ : /\*yi./.

G. Contractions of double vowel sequences between nonsyllabics in Powhatan are as follows:

- (1) PA /\*-iwa-/ > /-i.-/ before /\*l/, /\*θ/, and /\*š/  
 PA /\*mehšiwali/ 'pieces of firewood' > /messi.s/  
 (2) PA /\*-e.we-/ > /-e.-/  
 PA /\*weška.pe.wehsa/ 'boy attending a chief' > /oska.pe.ss/  
 PA /\*maxkate.wesi/ 'small coal, ember' (dimin.) > /mahkate.s/  
 (3) PA /\*-ewe-/ > /-o.-/  
 PA /\*newehθa<sup>?</sup>θwemwi/ 'I cough' > /no.ssassom/  
 PEA /\*ko.wama.neθe/ 'I love thee' > /ko.wama.nes/  
 (as if pseudo-PA /\*kewewama.neθe/)  
 (4) PA /\*-aya-/ > /-a.-/  
 PA /\*neθe<sup>?</sup>šwayaki/ 'my testicles' > /netessiwak/  
 PEA /\*wi.kahkwayali/ 'his thighs' > /wi.kkwas/  
 PA /\*meθkoθayali/ 'coats, robes of fur' > /meskotas/

However, the contraction does not occur between identical or near identical Powhatan nonsyllabics:

- PA /\*wešaθkwayaki/ 'freshwater mussels' > /osaskwayak/  
 PA /\*ahθayaki/ (AN) 'skins, pelts' > /assayas/ (INAN)  
 PA /\*walahakayaki/ 'scales of fish' > /warahakayak/

(5) Between nonsyllabics PA /\*-awe-/ contracts irregularly in two patterns both of which date back to Proto-Algonquian times, namely to /-a.-/ or to /-o.-/. In the various surviving languages the treatment varies to some degree in detail.

In Powhatan PA /\*-awe-/ contracts to /-a.-/ before /\*k/, /\*t/,

/m/, /n/, and /h/.

|                                      |   |                |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| PA /nowawemwa/ 'he comes from there' | > | /nowa·m/       |
| PA /*nemela·ntaweni/ 'I smell it'    | > | /nemera·nta·n/ |
| PA /*wi·yawehsi/ 'meat'              | > | /wi·ya·ss/     |

In Powhatan PA /\*-awe-/ contracts to /-o-/ regularly only when the /e/ begins an inflection before PA /\*θ/, /\*š/, and /\*l/.

|   |   |               |
|---|---|---------------|
| PA /*kenenohtaweθe/ 'I understand thee'   | > | /kenenohto·s/ |
| PEA (negative) /*kenenohtaweθo·wi/ 'I do not understand thee' >                               |   |               |
| /mata kenenohto·ro·w/, with PA /*θ/ and its alternant analogically restored as late PEA /*l/. |   |               |

H. The reflexes and contractions of the twelve glide-vowel sequences between nonsyllabics are as follows in Powhatan:

- (1) PA /\*-wi-/ >  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{/-i-/ after nonsyllabics except /*k/} \\ \text{/-wi-/ after /*k/} \end{array} \right.$
- |   |   |              |
|---|---|--------------|
| PA /*pi·ntwike·wa/ 'he enters a dwelling' | > | /pi·ntike·w/ |
| PA /*amamwilwe/ 'wake thou up!'           | > | /amamis/     |
| PA /*axkehkwinsa/ 'pot' (dimin.)          | > | /ahkehkwins/ |
| PEA /*akwintenwi/ 'canoe'                 | > | /akwinten/   |
| PEA /*akwimehša/ 'loon' (dimin.)          | > | /akwimess/   |
| PEA /*ma·nkwipakwi/ 'compound leaf'       | > | /ma·nkwipak/ |
- (2) PA /\*wi-/ > /-wi-/ at least after /\*k/
- |  |   |             |
|--|---|-------------|
| PA /*pasekwi·lwe/ 'arise thou from your seat!' | > | /pasekwi·s/ |
|--|---|-------------|
- (3) PA /\*-we-/ > /-o-/ after all nonsyllabics except /\*k/ and /\*p/
- |                                  |   |               |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------|
| PA /*aθemwehša/ 'dog' (dimin.)   | > | /atemoss/     |
| PA /*wehθaʔθwemwiwa/ 'he coughs' | > | /ossassomo·w/ |
| Pseudo-PA /*natwemwa/ 'wolf'     | > | /nantom/      |

However, after /\*k/ interconsonantal PA /\*-we-/ receives varying treatment in Powhatan. Also, according to Strachey's record, which in this case may show a dialectic difference, /\*-we-/ after /\*k/ and before /\*n/ exhibits a variation.

|                       |   |         |                             |
|-----------------------|---|---------|-----------------------------|
| After /*k/ PA /*-we-/ | { | >       | /-o-/ before /*t/ and /*θ/  |
|                       |   | >       | /-we-/ or /-o-/ before /*n/ |
|                       |   | >       | /-e-/ before /*p/ and /*m/  |
|                       |   | >       | /-we-/ before /*s/ and /*h/ |
| PA /*nekwetwi/ 'one'  | > | /nekot/ |                             |

|   |                  |   |                 |
|---|------------------|---|-----------------|
| PA /*kweθapeška.wa/                     | 'he capsizes'    | > | /kotapeska.w/   |
| PEA /*kwentamwiwa/                      | 'he swallows'    | > | /kwentamo.w/    |
| PEA /*nekwentameni/                     | 'I swallow it'   | > | /nekontamen/    |
| PA /*wekwenta.kani/                     | 'his throat'     | > | /okwenta.kan/   |
| PA /*netehkwema/                        | 'my louse'       | > | /netahkem/      |
| PA /*wi.kwepyi/                         | 'bast, wicopy'   | > | /wi.kepi/       |
| PA /*tahkwesiwa/                        | 'he is short'    | > | /tahkwesiw/     |
| PA /*mekwehsi/                          | 'awl'            | > | /mekwess/       |
| PA /*e.likwehša/                        | 'ant' (dimin.)   | > | /e.rikwess/     |
| PA /*a.pikwehša/                        | 'mouse' (dimin.) | > | /a.pikwess/     |
| PA /*kwi.škwehšwiwa/                    | 'he whistles'    | > | /kwi.skwesso.w/ |
| Finally, PA /*-we-/ > /-e-/ after /*p/. |                  |   |                 |

|                          |   |   |  |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| PA /*apwete.wi/          | 'it is hot, warm'                               | > | /apete.w/                                |
| (4) PA /*-we-/           | {   | > | /-e-/ after all nonsyllabics except /*k/ |
|                          |   | > | /-we-/ after /*k/                        |
| PA /*kenwe.wi/           | 'it is long'                                    | > | /kene.w/                                 |
| PA /*kesi.nkwe.wa/       | 'he washes his face'                            | > | /kesi.nkwe.w/                            |
| PA /*eθkwe.ʔemwa/        | 'bitch'   | > | /askwe.ssem/                             |
| PA /*newyi.xkwe.piθa.wa/ | 'I wrap him up with cords, tie him up in knots' | > | /newi.skwe.pita.w/                       |

(5) The PA interconsonantal sequence /\*-wa-/ in Powhatan, as in many Algonquian languages, receives several contractions, and is often analogically restored.

|                           |                               |            |                            |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| PA /*-wa-/                | {                             | >          | /-a-/ after /*t/ and /*θ/  |
|                           |                               | >          | /-o-/ after /*p/ and /*m/  |
|                           |                               | >          | /-wa-/ or /-o-/ after /*k/ |
| PA /*a.laxkwatwali/       | 'clouds'                      | >          | /a.rahkwas/                |
| Pseudo-PA /*matwahθaya/   | 'dressed leather'             | >          | /matassay/                 |
| PEA /*aθwaškwil/          | 'reed, water weed'            | >          | /atask/                    |
| PEA /*matwakaškwil/       | 'prickly pear, balsam-apple'  | >          | /matakask/                 |
| Pseudo-PEA /*apwahwemina/ | (AN) 'grain of parched maize' |            |                            |
|                           | >                             | /apohomin/ | (INAN)                     |

After /\*k/ there is often some vacillation between /-wa-/ and /-o-/ due to the operations of analogy, but apparently before /\*n/, /\*t/, and any cluster Powhatan maintains an invariable /-wa-/, and before /\*m/ and

/k/ a regular contraction to /-o-/ occurs.

- PEA /\*pahsakwani/ 'mire' > /passakwan/  
 PA /\*mi.kwana/ 'quill, long feather' > /mi.kwan/  
 PA /\*wešekwani/ 'his (fish's) tail' > /wesekwan/ or /osekwan/  
 PA /\*myeškwana/ 'someone's elbow' > /mi.skwan/  
 PA /\*a.laxkwatwi/ 'cloud' > /a.rahkwa/  
 PA /\*takwaškwatwi/ 'there is glazed frost or a crust of ice on the ground or snow' > /takwaskwat/  
 Pseudo-PA /\*axkehkwa'senya/ 'stone or metal pot' > /ahkehkwassen/  
 Pseudo-PA /\*weθa.kwame.kwa/ 'codfish' > /ota.kome.k/  
 PA /\*me'tekwaki/ 'trees' > /mehtekok/  
 PA /\*axkehkwaki/ 'pots' > /ahkehkok/

After /k/ and before /h/, /l/, /θ/, and /š/, /-wa-/ seems to be more common, but there is often contraction to /-o-/.

- PA /\*me'tekwali/ 'sticks' > /mehtekos/  
 PEA /\*a.škalaškwali/ 'seaweeds' > /a.skaraskwas/  
 PEA /\*aθwaškwali/ 'reeds, water weeds' > /ataskwas/  
 PEA /\*menenakwali/ 'islands' > /menenakos/  
 PEA /\*ma.nkwipakwali/ 'compound leaves' > /ma.nkwipakos/  
 Pseudo-PEA /\*takwahahkwi/ 'green arum, tuckahoe' > /takwahahk/  
 PEA /\*wešekwahameni/ 'he crushes it by tool'  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} > /osekwahamen/ \\ > \text{and } /osekohamen/ \end{array} \right.$   
 (6) PA /\*-wa.-/  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} > /-o.-/ \text{ after } /*p/, /*t/, \text{ and } /*k/ \\ > /-wa.-/ \text{ after } /*θ/, /*š/, \text{ and } /*s/ \\ > /-a.-/ \text{ after } /*nš/ \text{ and } /*ns/ \end{array} \right.$   
 PA /\*pyi.menahkwa.ni/ 'rope, cord' > /pi.menahko.n/  
 PA /\*wexpwa.kana/ 'pipe' > /ohpo.kan/  
 PA /\*apwa.na/ 'cornbread' (AN) > /apo.n/ (INAN)  
 PA /\*e.mehkwa.na/ 'spoon, ladle' > /e.mko.n/  
 PA /\*wepwa.mi/ 'his thigh' > /opo.m/  
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Late-PA } /*ne?šwa.šyeka/ \\ \text{Early-PA } /*ne?θwa.šyeka/ \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'eight'} \\ \end{array} \right\} > /nasswa.s/  
 PA /*nemo.nšwa.wa/ 'I cut his hair' > /nemo.nsa.w/$

However, if correct, Strachey seems to have recorded an exception in the diminutive form:

- PA /\*pyi.menahkwa.ne.nsi/ 'small cord' > /pi.menahkwa.ne.nsi/
- (7) PA /\*-yi-/ > /-i-/ after all nonsyllabics.
- PA /\*me<sup>o</sup>anyikwa/ 'gray squirrel' > /messani.k/
- Pseudo-PA /\*a<sup>o</sup>lanyikwa/ 'flying squirrel' > /assapani.k/
- PA /\*mi.čyilwe/ 'eat thou it!' > /mi.či.s/
- PEA /\*maškyihkyiwimina/ 'strawberry' > /maski.hki.wimin/
- (8) PA /\*-yi.-/ > /-i./ after all nonsyllabics.
- PA /\*ki.nlyi.wi/ 'it is sharp' > /ki.ni.w/
- PA /\*aškanyi.wi/ (?) 'it is raw' > /askani.w/
- PA /\*pyi.menahkwa.ni/ 'rope, cord' > /pi.menahko.n/
- (9) PA /\*-ye-/ > /-i.-/ after all nonsyllabics.
- PA /\*ašyeškiwi/ 'clay, mud' > /asi.skiw/
- PA /\*nyeškwana/ 'my elbow' > /ni.skwan/
- PA /\*waθanyehši/ 'his (bird's) tail' (dimin.) > /otani.ss/
- PA /\*mi.čyehkalwe/ 'eat thou it by and by, later!' > /mi.či.hkas/
- $$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PA /*wasye}^{\theta}\text{anwi/} \\ \text{PEA /*wasyeh}^{\theta}\text{e.wi/} \end{array} \right\} \text{'nest'} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{/wasi.sse.w/ or} \\ \text{/wači.sse.w/} \end{array} \right.$$
- PEA /\*ka.škyekwi/ 'ten' > /ka.ski.k/
- PEA /\*wešyeka.na/ 'roe' > /osi.ka.n/
- (10) PA /\*-ye.-/ > /-e.-/ after all nonsyllabics except word initial /n-/.
- PA /\*no.nšye.swa/ 'doe, matron' > /no.nse.s/
- PA /\*kakye.pehte.wa/ 'he is deaf' > /kake.pehte.w/
- PA /\*mye.neθki/ 'earthwork' > /me.nesk/
- PA /\*mye.wi/ 'path' > /me.w/
- PA /\*kesi.θenčye.wa/ 'he washes his hands' > /kesi.tenče.w/
- PA /\*wa.paθanye.wa/ 'adult bald eagle' > /a.patane.w/
- PA /\*wesa.wye.wi/ 'it is yellow' > /osa.we.w/
- PA /\*pye.wa/ 'he comes' > /pe.w/
- Pseudo-PA /\*wa.pa.pye.minšyi/ 'white vine' > /wa.pa.pe.mins/
- PA /\*pye.ta.wa/ 'he brings it' > /pe.to.w/ 'he brings'
- PEA /\*to.lepye.wa/ 'loggerhead turtle' > /to.repe.w/

However, after word initial /\*n-/ the /\*n/ is dropped and /\*-ye.-/ is retained:

- PA /\*nye.wwi/ 'four' > /ye.w/
- (11) PA /\*-ya-/ { > /-i.-/ after all nonsyllabics except /\*n/, /\*nš/,  
and /\*ns/  
> /-a.-/ after /\*n/, /\*nš/, and \*ns/
- PA /\*wi.kwepyali/ 'pieces of bast' > /wi.kepi.s/
- PA /\*weθakešyali/ 'his bowels' > /otakesi.s/
- PA /\*aʔča.pyali/ 'bowstrings' > /a.pi.s/
- PA /\*aʔlapyaki/ 'nets, seines' > /assapi.k/
- PA /\*mekyali/ 'scabs' > /meki.s/
- PA /\*wexkičyali/ 'cobs, plant spikes' > /ohkiči.s/
- PEA /\*nexkašyaki/ 'my nails, claws' > /nehkasi.k/
- PA /\*weθenčyali/ 'his hands' > /otenči.s/
- PA /\*wexpenyaki/ 'groundnuts' > /ohpenak/
- PA /\*ka.winšyali/ 'briars, brambles' > /ka.winsas/
- Pseudo-PA /\*wa.pa.pye.minšyali/ 'white vines' > /wa.pa.pe.minsas/
- (12) PA /\*-ya.-/ { > /-a.-/ after nonsyllabics except /\*p/  
> /-ya.-/ after /\*p/
- Pseudo-PEA /\*ke.kya.ta.ši/ 'nine' > /ke.ka.ta.s/
- PA /\*neni.čya.na/ 'my child' > /neni.ča.n/
- PA /\*neteʔčya.kwa/ 'my soul' > /nečehča.k/
- PA /\*we.sa.wya.ki/ 'yellow thing' > /o.sa.wa.k/
- PA /\*nepya/ 'I come' > /nepya.m/
- PA /\*pya.čye/ 'let him come' > /pya.č/
- PA /\*pya.kwa/ 'come ye!' > /pya.k/

I. The treatment of word final glide-vowel sequences varies in different Algonquian languages and in some analogical reshaping and paradigmatic regularization occur. In Powhatan the changes, with a few exceptions, appear to follow regular patterns. Each of these is discussed below:

(1) Single postconsonantal word final glide-vowel sequences of the pattern /\*-yV/ and /\*-wV/ are entirely dropped, with certain patterned exceptions and irregularities.

- PA /\*neki.špwi/ 'I have my fill of food' > /neki.sp/
- PA /\*weθenčyi/ 'his hand' > /otenč/

|                                      |                       |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| PA /*nekya/ 'my mother'              | > /nek/               |
| PA /*aθetwi/ 'it stinks, is rotten'  | > /atet/              |
| PA /*meçkwi/ 'blood'                 | > /mesk/              |
| PA /*wa.hkwa/ 'fish or frog egg'     | > /wa.hk/             |
| PA /*a'ta.pya/ 'bow'                 | > /ahta.p/            |
| PA /*a'lapyā/ 'net, seine'           | > /assap/             |
| PA /*wexpenya/ 'groundnut'           | > /ohpen/             |
| PA /*nekwetwi/ 'one'                 | > /nekot/             |
| PA /*ne'θwi/ 'three'                 | > /nass/              |
| PA /*mo.wi.čyi/ 'dung'               | > /mo.wi.č/           |
| PA /*weçkečyi/ 'his buttocks'        | > /osket/             |
| PA /*weθakešyi/ 'his bowel, entrail' | > /otakes/            |
| PA /*ka.winšyi/ 'briar, bramble'     | > /ka.wins/           |
| PA /*no.nšye.swa/ 'doe, matron'      | > /no.nse.s/          |
| PA /*eθkwe.θemwa/ 'bitch'            | > /askwe.ssem/        |
| PA /*mahkahkwi/ 'tub, cask'          | > /mahkahk/ 'pumpkin' |
| PA /*me'tekwa/ 'tree'                | > /mehtek/ (AN)       |
| PA /*me'tekwi/ 'stick'               | > /mehtek/ (INAN)     |
| PEA /*nexkašya/ 'my nail, claw'      | > /nehkas/            |
| PEA /*akwintenwi/ 'canoe'            | > /akwinten/          |

The following exceptions and irregularities are noted:

(1a) Word final /\*-wV/ does not invariably disappear without a trace when it is immediately preceded by the weak vowel /\*-e-/ in a light syllable, followed by certain clusters (which vary with the individual language) and make the /\*-e-/ syllable theoretically subject to syncope (in languages having this feature), in which case the /\*-e-/ is assimilated to /-o.-/.

|                       |              |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| PA /*ki.se'θwa/ 'sun' | > /ki.so.ss/ |
|-----------------------|--------------|

(1b) When a nonidentical glide has been dropped in the penultimate syllable the final syllable nonidentical glide is also dropped, but word rhythm is maintained and the short final vowel is retained.

|                                |             |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| PA /*wi.kwepyi/ 'bast, wicopy' | > /wi.kepi/ |
|--------------------------------|-------------|

This does not occur when the glides are identical.

|                      |           |
|----------------------|-----------|
| PA /*nekwetwi/ 'one' | > /nekot/ |
|----------------------|-----------|

(1c) In bisyllabic words final /\*-yi/ > /-i/ when it follows a single nonsyllabic which is preceded by the short weak vowel /\*-e-/. This



does not occur with final /\*-ya/.

PA /\*nepyi/ 'water' > /nepi/

PA /\*mekyi/ 'scab' > /meki/

But compare: PA /\*nekya/ 'my mother' > /nek/

(ld) In bisyllabic words final /\*-wi/ is retained following a sonorant-cluster preceded by the short weak vowel /\*-e-/.

PA /\*penkwi/ 'dust, ashes, dirt' > /penkwi/

(le) Word final /\*-wa/ > /-w/ following /\*-k-/ preceded by short vowel /\*-i-/ but not long vowels or glide-vowel sequences.

PA /\*makikwa/ 'nasal mucus, catarrh' > /makikw/

However, compare:

PA /\*meʔanyikwa/ 'gray squirrel' > /messani.k/

(2) Word final sequences of two short vowels in which the first member is a back vowel, /\*-VwV/, following a single nonsyllabic drop only the final vowel.

PA /\*atowa/ 'ball, mushroom' > /atow/

PA /\*le.kawi/ 'sand' > /re.kaw/

However, following a sonorant-cluster, the whole sequence is dropped.

Pseudo-PA /\*maθkawinsowa/ 'parquet' > /maskawins/

(3) In words of four or more syllables word final syllables of two short vowels in which the first member is the back vowel /\*-a-/ in the sequence pattern /\*-VyV/ when following a nonsyllabic are reduced to /-e-/.

PA /\*meθkoθayi/ 'coat, mantle, robe of fur' > /meskote./

PA /\*wepi.waya/ 'plume, down feather' > /opi.we./

PA /\*neškešayi/ 'my lip' > /neskese./

{ Early-PA /\*memo.tayi/ }  
 { Late-PA /\*meno.tayi/ } 'bag, basket, sack' > /meno.te./

PA /\*neθeʔšiwaya/ 'my testicle' > /netessiwe./

PA /\*meθa.ʒkaya/ (?) 'vagina' > /meta.ske./

PA /\*walahakaya/ 'scale of fish or reptile' > /warahake./

The plurals of these nouns are: /meskotas/ 'coats', /opi.wak/ 'plumes', /neskesayas/ 'my lips', /meno.tas/ 'bags', /netessiwak/ 'my testicles', /warahakayak/ 'scales'.

However, in words of less than four syllables the same sequences /\*-VyV/ following a nonsyllabic drop the final short vowel.

PA /\*ahθaya/ 'skin, pelt, hide' > /assay/, pl. /assayas/ (INAN)  
 PEA /\*aθakayi/ 'penis' > /atakay/

(4) Word final PA /\*-wayV/ following a nonsyllabic drops the final short vowel.

PEA /\*wi.kahkwayi/ 'his thigh' > /wi.kkway/, pl. /wi.kkwas/  
 PA /\*wešaθkwaya/ 'freshwater pearl mussel' > /osaskway/, pl.  
 /osaskwayak/

(5) Word final sequences of two short vowels in which the first member is a short front vowel following a cluster or nonsyllabic preceded by a short front vowel drop the final short vowel, so that /\*-iwV/ > /-iw/.

PA /\*pekiwa/ 'gum, pitch, resin' > /pekiw/  
 PA /\*mehšiwi/ 'faggot, piece of firewood' > /messiw/, pl.  
 /messi.s/  
 PA /\*ašyeškiwi/ 'clay, mud' > /asi.skiw/  
 PA /\*šekiwa/ 'he urinates' > /sekiw/

However, when this sequence follows a cluster or nonsyllabic preceded by a back vowel or a long vowel the entire sequence is dropped so that /\*-iwV/ > /(zero)/, except in words of three syllables.

PA /\*ta.waθetone.wiwa/ 'he yawns' > /ta.watetone.w/  
 PA /\*šaʔškiwa/ 'heron' > /assak/  
 PA /\*wa.paʔškiwa/ 'white heron' > /wa.passak/  
 PEA /\*waθpa.sa.xkiwi/ 'it is morning' > /waspa.sa.hk/

This does not occur in words of three syllables, for example:

PA /\*wi.wiwa/ 'he has a wife' > /wi.wiw/

(6) Word final sequences after a nonsyllabic which are composed of a glide followed by two short vowels, the first member of which is a short front vowel, are contracted so that /\*-wiwV/ > /-o.w/.

PA /\*sehkwiwa/ 'he spits' > /sehko.w/  
 PA /\*kemo.twiwa/ 'he steals (something)' > /kemo.to.w/  
 PA /\*ki.špwiwa/ 'he is full of food' > /ki.spo.w/  
 PA /\*amamwiwa/ 'he awakes' > /amamo.w/  
 PA /\*kwi.škwehšwiwa/ 'he whistles' > /kwi.skwesso.w/  
 PA /\*sanikwiwa/ 'he blows his nose' > /saniko.w/

(7) After a nonsyllabic word final sequences in which the penultimate vowel is long drop only the short final vowel.

|                                   |   |               |
|-----------------------------------|---|---------------|
| PA /*mo.hθe.wa/ 'worm'            | > | /mo.sse.w/    |
| PA /*ketate.wa/ 'otter'           | > | /ketate.w/    |
| PA /*pi.ʔte.wi/ 'foam, froth'     | > | /pi.hte.w/    |
| PA /*kweθapeška.wa/ 'he capsizes' | > | /kotapeska.w/ |
| PA /*či.me.wa/ 'he paddles, rows' | > | /či.me.w/     |
| PEA /*kenteke.wa/ 'he dances'     | > | /kenteke.w/   |
| PEA /*po.kete.wi/ 'fire'          | > | /po.kete.w/   |

(7a) Isolated or solitary preceding glides function in the same fashion as any other preceding nonsyllabic.

|   |   |               |
|---|---|---------------|
| PA /*po.yawe.wa/ 'kit beaver'                 | > | /po.yawe.w/   |
| PEA /*kawi.wa/ 'he is asleep'                 | > | /kawi.w/      |
| PEA /*atowetowe.wa/ 'cymbling, summer squash' | > | /atowetowe.w/ |

(7b) Two vowel word final sequences with a penultimate long vowel which follow glides preceded by a nonsyllabic follow the same pattern of dropping the final short vowel, but are modified by the interconsontal glide-vowel sequence rules described in Section H in which the final glide functions as a nonsyllabic.

As in Section H (2):

|  |   |             |
|--|---|-------------|
| PA /*pasekwi.wa/ 'he gets up from sitting' | > | /pasekwi.w/ |
|--|---|-------------|

As in Section H (4):

|   |   |               |
|---|---|---------------|
| PA /*kenwe.wi/ 'it is long'             | > | /kene.w/      |
| PA /*kesi.nkwe.wa/ 'he washes his face' | > | /kesi.nkwe.w/ |

As in Section H (6):

|                                     |   |              |
|-------------------------------------|---|--------------|
| PA /*nemo.nšwa.wa/ 'I cut his hair' | > | /nemo.nsa.w/ |
|-------------------------------------|---|--------------|

As in Section H (8):

|  |   |            |
|--|---|------------|
| PA /*ma.čyi.wa/ 'he starts off, goes away' | > | /ma.či.w/  |
| PA /*ki.nlyi.wi/ 'it is sharp'             | > | /ki.ni.w/  |
| PA /*aškanyi.wi/ (?) 'it is raw'           | > | /askani.w/ |

As in Section H (10):

|  |   |                |
|--|---|----------------|
| PA /*wa.paθanye.wa/ 'adult bald eagle'     | > | /a.patane.w/   |
| PA /*pye.wa/ 'he comes'                    | > | /pe.w/         |
| PA /*mye.wi/ 'path'                        | > | /me.w/         |
| PA /*kesi.θenčye.wa/ 'he washes his hands' | > | /kesi.tenče.w/ |
| PA /*wesa.wye.wi/ 'it is yellow'           | > | /osa.we.w/     |
| PEA /*to.lepye.wa/ 'loggerhead turtle'     | > | /to.repe.w/    |

## CONCLUSION

This completes an attempt to render reliable interpretations of the recordings of the Powhatan language of Virginia made by Captain John Smith and William Strachey in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Their notations are the oldest known written records of any Algonquian language except for a few terms for birds and fishes recorded by the artist John White about 1585-1587 on the North Carolina coast and a brief vocabulary taken down by James Rosier in June 1605 on the coast of Maine.

The ancient language spoken by Don Luis de Velasco, Powhatan, and Pocahontas has rightly fascinated many people, for aside from purely curious and sentimental interest, its historical and scientific considerations are significant, and Virginia Algonquian probably has provided more loans that were adopted into English than any other single American Indian language.

It is indisputable that there were at least two major Powhatan dialects and probably several minor ones. Besides considerable lexical differences, one dialect preserved initial PA /\*we-/ as /we-/ and PA /\*wa.-/ as /wa.-/ before nonfinal /\*p/, which in the other dialect became /o-/ and /a.-/ respectively. It is unfortunate that inadequate data forbid accurate identification of these dialects and a more detailed presentation of their features. It is perhaps a forlorn hope, but not an impossible one, that further manuscript material may turn up in English or Spanish archives.

Linguistic evidence suggests the following general conclusions:

1. Proto-Eastern-Algonquian (PEA) forms a marginal subdivision within general Algonquian and separated at a very ancient date from Proto-Algonquian (PA). The chief phonological innovations of general PEA were the lenition of preglottalized consonant clusters, the change of PA word initial /\*e-/ to PEA /\*a-/, and the loss of postconsonantal word final /\*-wa/ after all nonsyllabics except /\*k/. The chief morphological innovation of PEA which has been ably described by Goddard was a thorough rebuilding of the transitive inanimate verb (TI) so that the PA absolute third person singular ending /\*-amwa/ was generalized throughout both the PEA absolute and objective TI paradigms as the PEA theme-sign /\*-am-/ of the TI verb.
2. Proto-Eastern-Algonquian after an early separation from Proto-Algonquian

maintained a separate existence for a considerable time and underwent a period of common development. Somewhat later one group situated along the immediate Atlantic coast from the Merrimac River south to Cape Hatteras deviated from the rest of Eastern Algonquian and can be called the archaic coastal type of Proto-Eastern-Algonquian (PEA-A).

The chief innovational developments characterizing the archaic coastal or PEA-A division were the loss of the obviate singular and plural distinctions in nouns which took the form of a generalization of the obviate plural suffix (PA and PEA /\*-ahi/), and a unique morphologically conditioned neutralization (environmental phonemic change without loss of contrast) of syllable final PEA /\*l/ to PEA /\*θ/ in suffixed inflections and particles but not in derivational morphemes, followed by the older and regular alternation of /\*θ/ to /\*š/ before /\*i/, /\*i·/ and /\*y/, with later analogical extension of this alternation so that alternate /\*š/ invariably appeared in PEA-A rather than /\*l/ and /\*θ/ before all short final vowels in inflections and particles.

3. As Eastern Algonquian speakers dispersed over a large geographical area during a long period of time, divergence of speech occurred, and each language went its separate way. Later the geographical and linguistic continuity of the PEA-A division was interrupted by the intrusion of other Proto-Eastern Algonquian groups into the middle coastal region. The new arrivals on the coast evidently comprised a more inland group of Eastern Algonquians and were represented by the modern Delawares and Mahicans, whose ancestors would seem to have once occupied central and western New York and Pennsylvania and to have moved eastward and replaced the original PEA-A peoples along the coast from the Hudson Valley southward perhaps as far as Cape Henlopen.
4. The Powhatan dialects of Virginia, and some other southeastern groups, then remained as the southern representatives of the PEA-A division and the Southern New England (SNE) languages as its northern enclave. Powhatan remained relatively conservative and retained the PEA contrast of long and short vowel phonemes in unaltered form, and shifted PA and PEA /\*θ/ to /t/ and PA and PEA /\*l/ to /r/.

The dialects of Powhatan form a distinct language group in their own right. Powhatan seems to have retained some of the lexicon of the

"central" Algonquian languages not found elsewhere in Eastern Algonquian, for example in such glosses as /ketate.w/ 'otter' and /masa.n/ 'nettle'. Many of the lexical archaisms or innovations of PEA were retained also and show interesting patterns of correspondence with the northern languages of PEA. These include Powhatan /po.kete.w/ 'fire' (with Micmac, Western Abenaki, and Delaware), /akwinten/ 'canoe' (with Eastern Abenaki and Malecite-Passamaquoddy), /ni.mate.w/ 'man' (with Mahican), /wi.kkway/ 'his thigh' (with general Abenaki), /nepass/ 'sun' (with Massachusee), and many others. Some glosses, for example Powhatan /to.repe.w/ 'loggerhead or sea turtle' (PEA /\*to.lepye.wa/) and /ta.pawa.s/ 'seven', occur throughout most Eastern Algonquian languages but are not found elsewhere.

5. The SNE languages, representing the northern enclave of the PEA-A division, form a distinct group within Eastern Algonquian and all hold certain traits in common. At the time of discovery, they occupied southern New England and nearly all of Long Island in a region south of the Ipswich and Millers Rivers and westward to the course of the Westfield River, and approximately southwestward to western Long Island Sound and probably at one point to the east bank of the lower Hudson River. Unlike the southern division of PEA-A the SNE languages were decidedly less conservative and underwent a series of phonological changes. The SNE languages have in common a loss of long and short vowel contrasts and have the same vowel phonemes /i, o, ə, a, ʌ/. In all of them PA and PEA /\*e./ and /\*a./ have fallen together to /a/, PA and PEA /\*e/ became /ə/, and /\*a./ became /ʌ/, a tense back vowel, perhaps in some languages and only in certain environments with a nondistinctive or secondary feature of nasalization which did not appreciably alter the major contrast of lax /a/ with tense /ʌ/. In general all the SNE languages in nouns of two or more syllables irregularly drop final noninflectional syllables ending in /-n/ and /-w/ when preceded by /a, i, ə/, but with some variation of treatment in the different languages and dialects. Thus in the eastern SNE languages /-an/ drops in /ahpih-an/ 'snare' and /waw-an/ 'egg' but not in /otan/ 'village'. Also, all SNE languages, with some irregularities, show one of two types of so-called

palatalization of PA and PEA /\*k/ before /\*i/, /\*y/, and /\*e·/. The SNE languages in common with all PEA-A languages have /sk/ as the reflex of PA /\*çk/ as opposed to /hk/ found in the rest of Eastern Algonquian.

The entire division of SNE languages are conveniently classified into eastern and western groups. The eastern SNE dialects were spoken approximately to the east of the Blackstone River, and southwestwardly a little beyond to Greenwich Bay and the course of the Pawtuxet River. The remainder of the ill-defined area to the west and southwest, including Conanicut Island, Block Island, Fishers Island, nearly all of Long Island, the course of the Connecticut River north to Millers River, and the course of the Housatonic River north to the mountain chain crossing just below Cornwall Bridge, was the province of the western SNE languages.

In eastern SNE dialects PA and PEA /\*k/ was fronted to /t/ before /\*i/, /\*e·/, and /\*y/, the local or locative suffix is /-ət/, and PA /\*l/, /\*θ/, and /\*n/ coalesced to /n/.

In the western SNE languages PA and PEA /\*k/ was fronted and affricated to /č/ before PA /\*i/, /\*e·/, and /\*y/, but the locative suffix has been analogically (?) restored as /-ək/ (from PA /\*-enki/). PA /\*l/ and /\*θ/ have coalesced in all languages of the western group, however, in three differing mergers. In one subgroup they have coalesced to /l/, in a second they have fallen together with intervocalic /\*y/ to give /y/, and in the third subgroup they merged to /r/. The western SNE languages show other minor phonological innovations. For example, by dissimilation /m/ replaced /\*w/ in western SNE /wam/ 'egg', pl. /wamanas/ or /wamanš/, from PA /\*wa·wani/ 'egg', pl. /\*wa·wanali/.

6. The Eastern Algonquian languages or those which are descendents of PEA can be classified approximately as follows, although some portions of this classification are less certain than others because of the poverty of data. In every case, however, there are reasons of greater or less merit to support the proposed system although explication is too involved to describe here. Major languages are numbered serially in Arabic numerals, and dialects and subdialects of a lower order are

mutually intelligible to speakers of all without adaptive familiarity. Intelligibility becomes more facile and general among speakers of more closely related but originally unintelligible Algonquian languages after some period of exposure to such an unintelligible language or with adaptive familiarity. This phenomenon of adaptive multilingualism is quite common among many speakers in the larger Algonquian speech areas. For example, Penobscot and Malecite-Passamaquoddy are unintelligible to naive speakers of both, but during the past century at least and probably to a less degree originally, the majority but by no means all Penobscot speakers either understand or are able to speak both languages with relative ease after some degree of acquaintance. Similar situations exist among various Delaware dialects, between Sauk and Fox, and among northern Ojibwa dialects and Cree.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF EASTERN ALGONQUIAN:

##### I. BOREAL DIVISION

###### 1. Micmac

##### II. SUBBOREAL DIVISION

###### A. Etchemin

###### 2. Malecite-Passamaquoddy

- (a) Malecite
- (b) Passamaquoddy

###### B. Abenaki

###### 3. Eastern Abenaki (Note: Of these, Penobscot and Caniba, at least, have coastal and inland subdialects with partly differing rules of syncope.)

- (a) Penobscot
- (b) Caniba
- (c) Aroosagunticook
- (d) Sokoki-Pequaket (or Pigwacket)

###### 4. Western Abenaki (modern aggregate, St. Francis Abenaki)

- (a) Pennacook
- (b) Pentucket

##### III. MEDIAL DIVISION

###### A. Taconic

###### 5. Mahican (modern aggregate, Stockbridge)

- (a) Eastern Mahican
- (b) Western Mahican



## B. Delaware

6. Munsee (Minsi)
  - (a) Northern Munsee
  - (b) Eastern Munsee
  - (c) Western Munsee

7. Unami
  - (a) Northern Unami
  - (b) Eastern Unami
  - (c) Southern Unami

8. Unalachtigo (?)

## IV. ARCHAIC COASTAL DIVISION (PEA-A descendents)

## A. Southern New England (SNE)

(I) Eastern SNE (n-languages)

9. Massachusee
  - (a) Northern Massachusee (Saugus and Ipswich Rivers)
  - (b) Central Massachusee (Natick) (Charles and Neponset Rivers)
  - (c) Southern Massachusee (Martha's Vineyard)
  - (d) Nauset (Cape Cod and Nantucket)

10. Wampanoag

11. Cowesit (Northern Narragansett)

(II) Western SNE (modern aggregate, Brotherton, for groups [A] and [B])(A) y-languages

12. Narragansett
  - (a) Southern Narragansett
  - (b) Niantic
13. Mohegan-Pequot
  - (a) Pequot
  - (b) Mohegan
14. Montauk (or Eastern Long Island)
  - (a) Montauk
  - (b) Shinnecock

(B) r-languages

15. Wampano (modern aggregate, Scaticook)
  - (a) Quinnipiac
  - (b) Mattabesec
  - (c) Tunxis
  - (d) Siwanoy

16. Insular Wampano

- (a) Unquachog (Poosepatuck)
- (b) Setauket
- (c) Matinecoc
- (d) Massapequa

(C) 1-languages17. Nipmuck-Pocumtuck (Loup of French missionaries)

- (a) Nipmuck
- (b) Nashua
- (c) Pocumtuck

## B. Chesapeake

18. Nanticoke19. Conoy (Kanawha)

## C. Powhatan

20. Chickahominy

- (a) Chickahominy
- (b) Appomattox

21. Pamunkey

- (a) Pamunkey
- (b) Mattaponi

23. Nansemond

## D. Windgandcon

24. Chowan25. Pamlico (Pampticough)

## NOTES

1. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that part of this paper was written during 1969-70 when I was holding a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.
  2. Some references dealing with the Spanish in Virginia are:  
 Barcia, Andres González de. 1723. Ensayo cronológico para la historia de la Florida. Madrid. Pp. 142-46.  
 Florencia, Francisco de. 1694. Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Iesus de Nueva-España. Mexico. (Chapters 2 to 6 and 9 to 14 give accounts of the Jesuit Fathers Martinez, Juan Rogel and Juan Baptista Segura from St. Augustine north to Axacán from 1566 to 1572.)  
 Lanning, John T. 1935. The Spanish missions of Georgia. Chapel Hill, N. C. Pp. 41-54.  
 Lewis, Clifford M., and Loomie, Albert J. 1953. The Spanish Jesuit mission in Virginia, 1570-1572. Chapel Hill, N. C.  
 Lowery, Woodbury. 1911. The Spanish settlements within the present limits of the United States. New York. Pp. 359-66, 458-64.  
 Zubillaga, Felix. 1941. La Florida. La Misión Jesuítica, 1566-1572, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Vol. I. Rome.
  3. Hamor, Raphe. 1615. A true Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of Iune 1614. London. P. 13.
  4. Hilton, William. 1664. A Relation of a discovery lately made on the coast of Florida. London.
  5. Stevens, Captain John. 1706. A New Spanish and English dictionary. London: Printed for George Sawbridge. (No pagination.)
- Captain John Stevens was familiar with the history of the Spanish language in America, since he was the translator of Antonio de Herrera's "The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America", which first appeared in English in six volumes, published at London in 1725-26. It is not likely that Stevens would have incorporated this Algonquian loan in his dictionary if it had not been used by some Spanish speakers in the New World. The first printing of Herrera is: Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i tierra firme de Mar oceano, 8 vols., 14 maps, Madrid, 1601.

Herrera was the leading authority on Spanish America, having been employed as historiographer to Philip II and III of Spain.

6. Pineda, Pedro. 1740. *Nuevo diccionario, Español e Ingles e Ingles y Español*. London. (No pagination.)
7. Gatford, Lionel. 1657. *Publick Good without Private Interest: or, A Compendious Remonstrance of the present sad State and Condition of the English Colonie in Virginea*. London: Printed for Henry Marsh.
8. Smith, John. 1612. *A Map of Virginia, with a description of the Covntrey*. Oxford: Joseph Barnes.  
Smith, John. 1624. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. London: Printed by I. D. and I. H. for Michael Sparkes.
9. Strachey, William. 1849. *The Historie of travaille into Virginia Britannia*, ed. Richard Henry Major. London: Hakluyt Society.
10. Harrington, John P. 1955. *The Original Strachey vocabulary of the Virginia Indian language*. *Anthropological Papers*, no. 46, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 157. Pp. 189-202.
11. Because of his retiring nature and modesty less real information is known of Bloomfield's methods and manner of thinking than should be the case. Two of his greatest virtues were his perceptiveness and his ability to say things straight in a humble, direct style.
12. Bloomfield, Leonard. 1925. *On the sound system of Central Algonquian*. *Language* 1:130-56.
13. Lacombe, Albert. 1874. *Dictionnaire et grammaire de la langue des Cris*. Montreal.
14. Jones, William. 1907. *Fox texts*. *Publications of American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 1. Leyden.
15. Michelson, Truman. 1921. *The Owl sacred pack of the Fox Indians*. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 72.
16. Jones, William. 1917, 1919. *Ojibwa texts*. *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 7. 2 pts. New York.
17. Baraga, Frederic. 1853. *Dictionary of the Otchipwe language*. Cincinnati. 2nd edition, Montreal, 1878.
18. Cuoq, J. A. 1886. *Lexique de la langue algonquine*. Montreal.
19. In his 1925 paper in *Language* 1:134, 136, 138, and 144.

20. Michelson, Truman. 1935. Phonetic shifts in Algonquian languages. *IJAL* 8:131-71.
21. Bloomfield, Leonard. 1939. Menomini morphophonemics. *In* Trauvoux du Cercle linguistique de Prague 8:105-15. (Reprinted in 1964 by the University of Alabama Press.)
- Bloomfield, L. 1941. Proto-Algonquian -iit 'Fellow'. *Language* 17: 292-97.
22. Siebert, Frank T., Jr. 1941. Certain Proto-Algonquian consonant clusters. *Language* 17:298-303.
23. Bloomfield, Leonard. 1946. Algonquian. *In* Harry Hoiyer, *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 6. Pp. 85-129. New York.
24. Abbreviations and coding used in this paper are as follows: an asterisk (\*) marks a reconstructed form; > "became or is derived from"; < "coming from"; virgules /.../ indicate a phonemic record; bars |...| indicate morphophonemic constructs; obv. is "obviative", sg. "singular"; pl. "plural"; dimin. "diminutive"; AN animate gender; INAN inanimate gender; AI an animate intransitive verb; II an inanimate intransitive verb; TA a transitive animate verb; and TI a transitive inanimate verb.

PA stands for Proto-Algonquian; PEA Proto-Eastern Algonquian; PEA-A Archaic Coastal group of Proto-Eastern Algonquian; SNE group includes all the closely related dialects of southern New England and Long Island; EA group includes all the Eastern Abenaki dialects, Caniba, Penobscot, Sokoki, and others; F for Fox; C for Cree; M for Menomini; O for Ojibwa; S for Shawnee; P for Penobscot (most divergent member of EA); WA for Western Abenaki (Pennacook or modern St. Francis Abenaki); D for Delaware (mD for Munsee dialect, uD for Unami dialect); Mh for Mahican (not an SNE language); Mi for Miami; Mt for Montagnais (here Lake St. John dialect only); Mc for Micmac; Ml for Malecite; Ms for Massachuset (one dialect often is called Natick); Nr for Narragansett (actually a composite of two dialects); Np for Nipmuck-Pocumtuck (Loup of some French writers); Pq for Mohegan-Pequot; and Ps for Passamaquoddy (closely related to Malecite).

Forms cited here for F, P, mD, uD, Mh, Mt, Mc, Ml, and Ps are from my own field notes. The chief sources for other languages are:

Cree:

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1930. Sacred stories of the Sweet Grass Cree. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 60. Ottawa.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1934. Plains Cree texts. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. 16. New York.

Lacombe, Albert. 1874. Dictionnaire et grammaire de la langue des Cris. Montreal.

Watkins, E. A. 1865. A dictionary of the Cree Language. London. 2nd ed. by R. Faries, Toronto, 1938.

(The second edition has additions and some corrections, but introduces some errors which are correctly given in the first edition, so both should be used together.)

Ellis, C. Douglas. 1971. Cree verb paradigms. IJAL 37:76-95.

Menomini:

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1928. Menomini texts. Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. 12. New York.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1962. The Menomini language. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bloomfield, Leonard. n.d. Unpublished Menomini dictionary. (Xerox copy kindly supplied by Prof. Charles F. Hockett.)

Ojibwa:

Baraga, Frederic. 1853. Dictionary of the Otchipwe language. Cincinnati. (1st edition.)

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1957. Eastern Ojibwa. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Rogers, Jean H. 1963. Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa phonology and morphology, National Museum of Canada Bulletin 194, Paper 4. Ottawa.

Miami and Shawnee:

Voegelin, Charles F. 1939-40. Shawnee stems and the Jacob P. Dunn Miami dictionary. Prehistory Research Series, Indiana Historical Society, Vol. 1. Indianapolis.

Selected unpublished notes on Shawnee (from Voegelin and three early 19th-century sources) and Miami-Illinois (from Volney, Gatschet, Kerr, Gravier, Le Boulanger, etc.).

Southern New England Group (SNE):

Eliot, John. 1663. (Indian Bible) Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe

Up-Biblum God. Cambridge, Mass. (1st edition.) (Charles River).

Williams, Roger. 1643. A key into the language of America. London.

(Mixes several dialects, only sometimes indicating them.)

Trumbull, James H. 1903. Natick dictionary. Bureau of American

Ethnology Bulletin 25.

Cotton, Josiah. 1829. Vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indian language.

Cambridge, Mass. (Largely the dialect about Plymouth and Cape Cod, or Nauset.)

Mayhew, Experience. 1709. Massachusee Psalter. Boston. (In the dialect of Martha's Vineyard.)

Mathevet, Jean-Claude. ca. 1750. Mots lousps. (Manuscript; now being edited for publication by Gordon M. Day. It is in the Nipmuck-Pocumtuck language of central Massachusetts and of the middle Connecticut River Valley, and is an I-dialect of the SNE group.)

Speck, Frank G. 1928. Native tribes and dialects of Connecticut:

A Mohegan-Pequot diary. In 43rd Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology. Pp. 199-287. (This is the SNE dialect of eastern Connecticut, properly Pequot linguistically, rescued by Speck from the last speaker in the first decade of this century.)

25. Goddard, Ives. 1967. The Algonquian independent indicative.

National Museum of Canada Bulletin 214. Pp. 66-106. Ottawa. Reference is to Section 4. 5, pp. 78-80.

26. Bloomfield (1946) cited in note 23. Bloomfield, in Section 6, p. 87, says PA /\*θ/ was "an unvoiced interdental or lateral" with a query. If my interpretation of PEA phonology is correct, then PEA shows that /\*θ/ was not an interdental but a voiceless lateral and the unmarked member of the contrast /\*1/ : /\*θ/, based only on the privative opposition of voiced/unvoiced. Thus, Bloomfield's second surmise is the preferred solution.

Here neutralization is conceived to apply only to a privative and unidimensional opposition that contrasts two phonemes which differ by the presence or absence of one distinctive feature, and which share a set of other identical features not manifest as an aggregate in any other phonemes in the language. See N. S. Trubetzkoy, Grundzüge der phonologie, Trauvaux

du Cercle linguistique de Prague 7:218, (1939): "Aufgehoben können ja nur eindimensionale Oppositionen werden, und diese sind ja bekanntlich in jedem System immer weniger Zahlreich als die mehrdimensionalen."

Contrasts run the gamut from optimal to minimal and therefore may delineate a variety of oppositions. Some oppositions are binary in that they involve two opposing positive but not phonetically coördinate distinctive features, such as interrupted/continuant, strident/mellow, voiced/voiceless, nasal/oral, and tense/lax. Other oppositions are privative and reflect either the presence of a distinctive feature, in which case they distinguish the marked member of a contrast, or the absence of the identical distinctive feature, specifying the unmarked member of the contrast. Some privative oppositions are: voiced/unvoiced (nonvoiced), nasal/non-nasal, and tense/nontense.

Neutralization is the suspension of a privative and unidimensional opposition in certain positions in which the number of phonemes that may occur is smaller than in other positions, or in other words, where there is a phonotactic or sequential constraint. Thus, it is fictional to postulate, as did Trubetzkoy, an archiphoneme for a nonunique phonological representation in lieu of what seemed like arbitrarily assigning one of two ostensibly intersecting phonemes to specify a neutralized segment. On the contrary, a correct recognition of the distinctive features of a language, the types of oppositions it employs, the phonotactic distributional constraints, and a correct analysis of the underlying base units or morphophonemes, allow for unique phonological representations in neutralized environments and non-arbitrarily assign them to the unmarked phoneme in accord with phonetic reality. Sometimes however, as a result of the less sharply defined nature of privative oppositions, a neutralized segment may not be phonetically identical with either of the non-neutralized members or contrasting phonemes but be an intermediate entity. In such cases the unmarked phoneme is recast by assimilation and dissimilation rules which can be defined within the phonotactics of the language, and these often operate so that unmarked feature values usually assimilate to adjacent marked features.

27. Bloomfield (1946), cited in note 23. See Section 20, p. 92.

28. Michelson, Truman. 1933. The linguistic classification of Powhatan. *American Anthropologist* 35:549.

29. Siebert, F. T. (1941), cited in note 22. *Language* 17:302.



30. Lawson, John. 1709. A new voyage to Carolina. London. Lawson gives the Pampticough (Pamlico) numeral 'one' as weembot, recorded about 1701; p. 225.

31. In June 1938 Nicodemus Peters, a Munsee Delaware speaker of Smoothtown, Six Nations Reserve near Hagersville, Ontario, gave me some Nanticoke terms which he had learned from a Nanticoke boy he played with when both were between the ages of 8 to 10 years (circa 1870). The numerals for the most part appear to be Algonquian, but do not agree with the known Nanticoke terms or the Powhatan of Smith and Strachey. They may be representative of one of the arcane stray number systems (see Floyd G. Lounsbury, "Stray number systems among certain Indian tribes", *American Anthropologist* 48:672-675, (1946)), or perhaps the forms of a counting out rhyme, or of the esoteric children's speech reported among some Algonquian peoples, among them the Penobscot and Shawnee. They are, from one to five: /nátta/, /ní·šaw/, /xá·ši/, /né·wiši/, /čínkši/. Among a few other "Nanticoke" terms he recalled is /ní·mataw/ man, which is not Nanticoke but apparently Powhatan, although the alteration of the third vowel is questionable and may be due to faulty memory. This appears to be a linguistic survival, and suggests that a few Powhatan descendants, perhaps from the eastern shore (Northampton and Accomack Counties, Virginia), were incorporated with the Nanticoke, and eventually migrated north to be finally absorbed by various Delaware communities.

Peters also remembered, among others, the corresponding Mahican term, /ní·manaw/ man, formerly current at Smoothtown in the speech of several Mahican families incorporated with the Munsee there.

One of Lounsbury's stray numbers for ten, /wínbet/, which he found in use among the Oneida of Wisconsin, is undoubtedly Munsee /wí·mpat/ with replacement of /n/ for /m/ since labial /m/ does not occur in Oneida or other Iroquoian languages except Cherokee. A group of Munsee who once lived on the White River, Indiana, had migrated to Wisconsin with the Oneida and Stockbridge (Mahican) in the period 1822-1829.